HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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'Hunger': Liberals' New Political War Cry

By TED LEWIS

The Nixon Administration's angry outbursts over an issue that Democrats have raised—"hunger in America"—suggests that the Republicans now in charge here in Washington think the malnutrition problem has been exaggerated for partisan political reasons.

This is true to a certain extent. Sen. George S. McGovern (D.-S.D.) has very effectively publicized the hunger issue, especially through on-the-scene hearings of his investigating committee in Deep South poverty pockets.

If McGovern had not had considerable success by using the Madison Avenue selling technique, Nixon's communications director, Herbert Klein, wouldn't have bothered to blast him for "traipsing around the country with television cameras."

Nor would Klein have indulged in further angry rhetoric to put the Administration's seal of disapproval on the McGovern effort unless the hunger issue was most upsetting to the White House.

Speaking at a luncheon meeting of young Republicans, Klein said he considered it a "disgrace" for McGovern "and others to make hunger a political issue."

What is it that so deeply disturbs the Nixon Administration about this issue? Fundamentally, it is the issue's impact on plans for spending less in the anti-poverty area and getting better results.

GOP politicians and others were convinced in last year's election that popular support for the JFK and LBJ "War on Poverty" had evaporated because of the tragic failure to deliver on promises. It appeared that even a Democratic Congress in 1969 would approve cuts in spending in that area and a policy of turning to private enterprise, with a tax-credit gimmick as an incentive, to try to cure the ills that $2 billion of direct federal spending annually failed to do under Johnson.

In other words, when the Nixon Administration took office, the "War on Poverty" was in such disrepute that a congressman could vote against continuing it without committing political suicide. Yet, a few years ago the same legislator dared not vote his convictions, even to cutting anti-poverty spending, without being accused of being against "the poor."

But this assessment by the incoming Administration did not take into account the cleverness of those Senate Democratic liberals wedded to the anti-poverty cause. So their "War on Poverty" was no longer a titillating slogan! Let's find another slogan that will titillate. So we have the "War on Hunger"—on paper at least, equally viable, for no one can be against helping the starving, just as five years ago few legislators dared to be against fighting poverty.

This may be considered a somewhat cynical assessment. Nevertheless, every social worker, every grass-roots and ghetto operative who toiled for Sargent Shriver's anti-poverty setup knows that malnutrition has been right along concomitant with squalid housing, lack of education, and limited job opportunities.

In effect, then, what McGovern is trying to do is to emphasize hunger as a problem separate from poverty, which it isn't, even if the impression is given that it suddenly has become worthy of priority.

Obviously, President Nixon and his Administration cannot afford to be put in the spot where Democrats can accuse them of being cold-blooded about hunger. Their predicament requires them to handle the subject most cautiously. They would much prefer to have the issue concern malnutrition rather than hunger. A war on malnutrition doesn't carry the bite of a "War on Hunger."

They clearly have little chance, however, of getting rid of the "War on Hunger" slogan. Klein almost conceded that in his appraisal of what McGovern had accomplished.

Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.), at left, talks with Robert Riley, owner of a farm labor camp near Ft. Myers, Fla. McGovern has been touring various Southern areas in support of the liberals' latest fad—the "War on Hunger."

The question then remains as to what the Democratic Congress is going to do about money for a "War on Hunger." It will probably be ready to appropriate all that the Administration asks for the "War on Poverty," which will be at least $1.5 billion, even on an economy basis.

But superimpose on that sum $1 billion or $2 billion for a "War on Hunger" and the result is a poverty-hunger package far bigger than any Johnson ever proposed for poverty alone during his Administration.

The total could be even more, of course. The National Planning Association, for example, has proposed that Congress consider major changes in the federal food program that would cost $3.8 billion annually.

"Food aid policies," the association's agriculture committee recommended, "should be considered entirely as programs for help for poor people."

Can the new Administration afford to oppose even a billion in additional spending on the hunger front? Certainly, if a sizable budget surplus, designed to help curb inflation, is considered a "must," then the Administration cannot support all that Congress says is needed for hunger, too, and achieve the same fiscal result.

The political box in which the Administration is finding itself never had been anticipated. What is worse, at the moment at least, various Southern Senate Democrats who usually can be counted on to be against big social welfare spending are supporting the "War on Hunger."

No wonder Klein lost his cool on the McGovern issue, reflecting the Administration's depression over the way the "War on Hunger" is developing.

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

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Capital Briefs

● Wisconsin Republicans are urgently beseeching President Nixon to permit Defense Secretary Melvin Laird to bless the candidacy of **Walter Chilsen**, who is running in the April 1 election for Laird's old congressional seat. Organized labor and the Democratic party are pouring in tons of money (COPE has reportedly spent $30,000 on TV alone) and sending in celebrities like Teddy Kennedy in an effort to secure the seat and embarrass the Nixon Administration. While Nixon asked each Cabinet member to refrain from politicking, Laird, it is argued, should be allowed to give a favorable nod to his possible successor. Unless he does, it is believed, Chilsen could very well go down to defeat.

● Diplomatic Row reports that the Soviet Union is greatly irritated by President Nixon and such subordinates as Defense Secretary Melvin Laird for repeatedly **blaming the Soviets** for existing world tensions.

● When New York Mayor **John Lindsay** made his announcement to seek re-election last week, he was surrounded by the top-ranking Republicans of the state, including Gov. Rockefeller, Senators Javits and Goodell, and Atty. Gen. Louis Lefkowitz. Noticeably absent was the state's popular lieutenant governor, Malcolm Wilson, who has been rumored to prefer Lindsay's conservative primary opponent, State Sen. John Marchi, for the GOP mayoralty nomination. Previously Wilson had denied these reports, but if they are untrue New York political observers are wondering why Wilson was not at Lindsay's love feast.

● At the Young Republican Leadership Training School held in Washington last week, only one of the celebrities who spoke was greeted with an audible amount of boos: Health, Education and Welfare Secretary **Robert Finch.**

● New Agriculture Secretary **Clifford M. Hardin** appears to be quietly reversing the Socialistic approach to farming followed by his predecessor, Orville Freeman. While Freeman was mesmerized by a high price-support policy combined with severe penalties on "overproduction," Hardin wants the farmers to rely more on the free market. His first two major decisions show that he means business: cutting the price support on cottonseed by $11 a ton and curtailing the supports on soybeans by 25 cents a bushel.

● Sen. **Walter F. Mondale** (D.-Minn.) is organizing a bipartisan congressional effort to ease American government restrictions on exports of goods to Communist countries.

● Liberal Democrats from both the House and Senate—McGovern, Conyers, et al.—have announced plans for a conference late this week to mobilize opposition against the Viet Nam war and the deployment of an anti-ballistic missile system. Chairman of this Democratic wing-ding: Dr. **Arthur Larson**, director of the World Rule of Law Center at Duke University, a high-ranking Republican in the Eisenhower Administration and a fellow who calls himself a "liberal Republican."

● Republicans scored significant victories in recent **special elections** held in Washington and Virginia. In Washington's traditionally Democratic King County (Seattle), Republican John Spellman captured the post of county executive, defeating former Gov. Albert (The Rose) Rosellini. And in populous Arlington County, Va., Republican M. Patton Echols won a three-man race to become the area's first GOP state senator.

● Statements filed with the Clerk of the House reveal that the **Republican party** is collecting funds at three times the rate of the Democrats in 1969.

● The Nixon Administration will soon announce a relaxation of **controls over foreign investments** that will permit U.S. companies to invest abroad as much as $500 to $600 million more this year than they did in 1968. During the campaign, Nixon promised to junk the mandatory controls over U.S. investments set up by President Johnson.

● Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller** has confirmed reports that Hubert Humphrey had asked him to be the Democratic vice presidential candidate in 1968. Rocky, apparently, turned down the job less on the grounds that it would hurt his party than on the grounds that he just didn't like being No. 2.

● Though the Walker Report has blamed the police for unfairly interfering with the rights of demonstrators at the Democratic National Convention, last week New Left Prof. **Staughton Lynd** and nine others were found guilty of interfering with uniformed law officials on August 28 because they failed, after adequate warning, to disperse a picket line near Chicago's International Amphitheater. The conviction could bring fines on each individual ranging from $25 to $500.

● The Justice Department has opened a full-scale probe of that $13.3-million government contract allegedly arranged by **former aides of Vice President Humphrey**. The lush contract, for the production of three-wheeled mail trucks, went to Universal Fiberglass Corp., a politically connected firm that subsequently went bankrupt without producing any vehicles. Although the General Services Administration reported last year that criminal and civil fraud may have been involved, the Johnson Administration refused to probe the contract.

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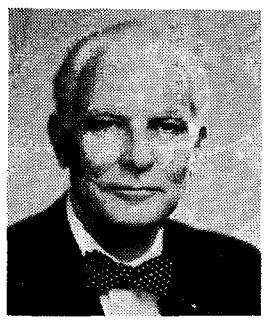
The Cuban Nuclear Threat

Before ratifying the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT), the Senate was told by Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) that the Soviets have been rapidly converting Cuba into an advanced base for nuclear research—in clear violation of the treaty's intent.



DODD

Under the treaty, the nuclear powers are forbidden to transfer even peaceful atomic material to any country which refuses to sign the pact. Cuba has made it very clear that she has no intention of signing. In early May of last year, Dr. Raul Roa, Cuban minister of foreign affairs, told the General Assembly of the United Nations:

" . . . Cuba will never renounce her inalienable right to defend herself with weapons of any kind. . . . In accordance with this policy, Cuba did not sign the 1963 Moscow Treaty partially banning nuclear testing nor the one concerning the peaceful use of outer space, nor the Tlaltelolco agreement for the proscription of nuclear arms in Latin America.

"The Cuban delegation also abstained from approving the many resolutions which have been adopted during the past few years by the General Assembly in relation to these topics, including the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons."

Nevertheless, in November of last year—after it had already signed the NPT—the Soviet Union completed work on a nuclear reactor in Cuba.

On January 8 of this year a nuclear agreement was signed in Cuba between Havana and Moscow under which Moscow undertook to help Cuba expand its nuclear program. Later that same day a meeting was held between Communist officials and scientists at the Cuban Institute of Nuclear Physics.

The principal speaker was Dr. Antonio Nunez-Jimenez, president of the National Commission of the Cuban Academy of Sciences. Among his listeners were Fidel Castro, Cuban Vice Prime Minister Raul Castro and Vladimir N. Novikov, the prominent Soviet chemist and deputy prime minister of the Soviet Union.

Dr. Nunez-Jimenez claimed that as a result of the agreement, the Cuban Academy of Sciences could now branch out into atomic research "and that for this development, the Soviet Union is supplying not only the scientific material, but also the technicians."

He praised the fact that—thanks to Communist countries—Cuba now possessed more than 120 "scientific laboratories and centers constructed along the Cuban archipelago where geophysical studies are being carried out in such fields as tracking man-made satellites, causing rainfall, agriculture and social sciences."

Dr. Nunez-Jimenez then made the disclosures that the number of top Russian scientists now serving in Cuba amounts to 231, with 222 more due to arrive by the end of this year. In addition, more than 300 scientific specialists in all fields of advanced research have settled in Cuba from the Communist satellites in Eastern Europe.

Furthermore, he added, "The Soviet Union helped us . . . by training, in the best Soviet centers, the first Cuban engineers in nuclear physics who will join this institute within the next two months."

In responding to Sen. Dodd, Dr. Edward Teller recently wrote: "There is nothing to prevent Cuba from developing a nuclear capability in the next few years if they are helped to do so by the Russians. Such a development would certainly prove a serious danger to our security. In considering the question whether or not such a development will occur, one may remember that in the case of China, Russia first provided help, then withdrew the help. The Chinese, nevertheless, proceeded to perfect nuclear weapons. . . ."

Thus, it is very likely that even under the highly touted non-proliferation treaty Communist Cuba will develop nuclear weapons—with the aid of the Soviet Union.

New Shifts at HCIS

The House Committee on Internal Security (formerly the Committee on Un-American Activities) has gone through more than just a name change in recent weeks. Under the new chairmanship of Rep. Richard Ichord (D.-Mo.), the HCIS has made other shifts that have been disquieting to those who support the committee's efforts in the fields of subversion and exposure.

ICHORD

The committee, for instance, has taken on two certified liberals, Claude Pepper and Louis Stokes, the latter having introduced a bill to abolish the committee. Under Ichord, furthermore, there have been several changes in the Rules of Procedure which a number of objective observers feel will harm the committee's legislative and investigative functions.

Adverse witnesses, for instance, appear to be given far more leeway and where once "no major investigation" could be initiated without approval of the majority of the committee, now "no investigation shall be undertaken" unless with approval of a majority. Other rules, it is feared, will aid the legal minds of the organized left to thwart much of the committee's efforts.

Oddly enough, as Ichord remarked in the February 6 *Congressional Record*, the "new rules substantially embrace the proposals made by Mr. Gonzalez in this Congress (H. R. 46), together with the provisions of the proposed Code of Investigative Procedure adopted in 1954 by the American Bar Association. . . ." The reason these comments have struck a jarring note is that Rep. Henry Gonzalez (D.-Tex.), the Gonzalez referred to by Ichord, not only has no particular expertise in the area of rules and procedures, but has previously lined up with those intent on eliminating the committee altogether.

There are other areas of concern. Ichord, for instance, has eased out Francis J. McNamara, the committee's extremely able staff director for the past seven years.

As the staff director, Mr. McNamara conducted a score of successful investigations, not the least of which were those documenting the role of radical extremists in the riots that have spread through our cities over the past few years. He was also responsible for cleaning up the security scandal that rocked the National Security Agency.

A former Army Intelligence officer, McNamara is one of the most knowledgeable students of communism and has lectured on the subject extensively. As the new chairman, of course, Ichord has, it is agreed, a perfect right to pick his own staff, but he has not yet brought in anyone who is similarly knowledgeable.

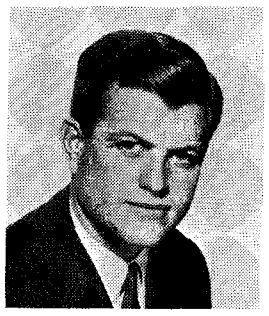
One of Ichord's selections is fellow Missourian Glenn Davis, a former public affairs official for the Office of Economic Opportunity. Davis, who is now the committee's "editorial director"—i.e., public information officer—is an amiable fellow who admits he is not very familiar with subjects studied by the HCIS.

The new chief counsel, David G. Sanders, who, in effect, replaces McNamara, is also from Missouri. Though he was with the Federal Bureau of Investigation for 10 years, he, too, does not know too much about the area he must deal with.

All this is not to say, however, that the committee will suddenly falter. In the past, Ichord has been considered one of the committee's outstanding members and he is permitting many experienced staffers to stay on. He also seems intent on vigorously pushing probes into subversive movements in this country. Perhaps, it is being argued, he has a plan to improve the committee that has not been fully perceived. Nevertheless, those who wish the committee well are keeping their fingers crossed.

Teddy Woos Red China

Sen. Teddy Kennedy (D.-Mass.), the Democratic party's new Whip, has once again revealed why he should not be President of the United States. Speaking at the New York Hilton last week to a conference sponsored by the National Committee on United States-China Relations, a soft-on-Red China outfit funded ~~by~~ the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Teddy called for a variety of steps which, say diplomatic experts, would virtually eliminate Nationalist China as a viable anti-Communist nation. Indeed, Teddy's proposals could very well put Taiwan under the thumb of Mao.



KENNEDY

Teddy, for instance, called for Taiwan's expulsion from the National Security Council, with the seat going to Red China, urged the U.S. to withdraw its "token American military presence from Taiwan" and made a plea for the U.S. to open up consulates and trade with Peking.

He then suggested that Taiwan, denuded of an American military presence, should negotiate with the Red Chinese over its own future.

Attended by a number of unofficial lobbyists for Red China's recognition, the conference was chaired by Prof. Edwin O. Reischauer, former U.S. ambassador to Japan, and Prof. A. Doak Barnett of Columbia.

Thurmond's Anti-Riot Law

A sweeping federal grand jury investigation in Chicago into the riots that rocked the Democratic National Convention there last summer has resulted in the indictment of 17 persons, including eight demonstration leaders, eight policemen and a National Broadcasting Co. employe.

The first ever returned under the anti-riot section of the 1968 civil rights act—a section, by the way, that was put into the law by Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.)—the indictments were brought before Chief Judge William J. Campbell and Robert Lamping, the jury foreman. Both Campbell and Lamping indicated that more indictments may be forthcoming.

Named in the indictment for conspiring and cross-

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ing state lines to incite a riot were a flock of New Left members, including:

David Dellinger, chairman of the National Mobilization Committee; Rennie Davis, who served as Chicago coordinator for the committee; Tom Hayden, a co-founder and former secretary of the Students for a Democratic Society; Abbie Hoffman, one of the Youth International party (Yippies); Jerry Rubin, another Yippie leader; Lee Weiner and John Froines, organizers of the demonstrators, and Bobby Seale, a minister of the Black Panther party in Oakland. The grand jury also named 12 demonstration leaders as co-conspirators, but returned no indictments.

Seven of the policemen were charged under an 1866 civil rights act that makes it a federal crime for an officer to punish civilians summarily "under color of any law." They were accused of beating newsmen, demonstrators and bystanders during the convention week. The eighth policeman was accused of lying, while an NBC employe, Mrs. Enid Roth, was charged with "willfully and knowingly" bugging executive hearings of the Democratic Platform Committee.

The indictment, in part, charges the eight radical demonstrators with "using the facilities of interestate commerce with intent to incite, organize, encourage, promote, participate in, and carry on a riot; to teach and demonstrate to other persons the use, application and making of incendiary devices for use in civil disorders; and to commit acts to obstruct, impede and interfere with law enforcement officials performing their duties during civil disorders."

The indictment further charges that "Large numbers of persons would break windows, set off false fire alarms, set small fires, disable automobiles, create disturbances at hotels in the Loop area, and throughout the city for the purpose of disrupting the city and causing the deployment of military forces." The indictment also alleges that part of the conspiracy included statements and speeches made by the eight demonstration leaders.

Games Senators Play

Sen. Philip Hart (D.-Mich.), who lashes businessmen every so often for allegedly misrepresenting the facts to the public, apparently feels no compunction about lawmakers pulling the wool over the eyes of their constituents.

HART

Back in 1966, it was recently recalled, Hart arose in the chamber to vehemently denounce Sen. James Eastland (D.-Miss.) as a terrible foe of all civil rights legislation. Hart's language was unusually harsh.

"It seemed a courageous thing for Hart to do," wrote Saul Friedman in an article highly favorable to the Michigan senator, "for Eastland was his chairman and a very influential member of the Senate."

One of Eastland's allies, Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.), became enraged as Hart continued his outburst. As Ervin rose to the Mississippi lawmaker's defense, Eastland sidled up to the North Carolinian and said: "Damn it, Sam, sit down and shut up. You're ruining the whole thing."

The episode, it turned out, was a charade. Eastland had actually requested Hart to assail him so he could distribute the speech throughout his state. The Mississippi senator believed Hart's attack would aid him in his re-election campaign against a Republican opponent who had accused Eastland of being soft on civil rights legislation.

Apparently lacking a vividly vindictive enough imagination, Hart, as his office confirmed to *Human Events* last week, had the entire diatribe written by Eastland's own staff. Thus, Hart—the great civil rights crusader and touter of truth in packaging—willingly engaged in a hoax so that his supposed foe, Jim Eastland, could easily win re-election.

"Eastland and Hart still chuckle over the incident," writes Friedman, who tries to excuse the stunt on the grounds that Hart built up some Brownie points with the Judiciary chairman.

So when Hart begins campaigning for re-election next year, his constituents may want to ponder just whose words they are really hearing—those of the Southern ventriloquist or his Northern dummy.

Curbing the Census Snoopers

Considerable momentum is gathering in Congress behind H. R. 20, Rep. Jackson Betts' bill to prevent Census Bureau snoopers from prying into such matters as the total number of toilets in one's home or how many stillborn children your wife has had in her lifetime.

BETTS

The Ohio GOP lawmaker, whose aims are backed by more than 120 other legislators, hopes to limit sharply the number of inquiries asked by the census and stop the federal courts from imposing fines and jail sentences on individuals who refuse to reply to impertinent and irrelevant queries.

Even though a similar proposal was killed last year, Rep. Betts thinks the chances for passage are greatly improved now because of major press support and the fact that congressmen have been hearing from home on the matter. As one irate constituent wrote his representative: "How dare you dirty little politicians legalize voyeurism."

Aside from an aroused public, Betts believes the complexion of the House Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee on Census and Statistics is more favorable toward his legislation than it was last year.

First, the panel's new chairman, Rep. Charles Wilson (D.-Calif.), seems more inclined toward the Betts anti-snooping bill than his predecessor, Rep. William Green (D.-Pa.), an arch-liberal who had blocked the earlier bill.

Wilson, in fact, has scheduled hearings for March 31 and has replaced subcommittee staff director Mort Meyer, an ardent supporter of detailed census questioning, with his own administrative aide. (Meyer, on loan from the Census Bureau, will remain as a technical adviser to the subcommittee.)

Unlike 1968, furthermore, the Betts measure has firm support from at least half the members of the subcommittee. In favor of the bill are Representatives Edward J. Derwinski (R.-Ill.), William Scott (R.-Va.), Thomas J. Meskill (R.-Conn.) and Jerome Waldie (D.-Calif.). Rep. Richard White (D.-Tex.) will probably oppose the measure, while other committee members, Representatives Robert O. Tiernan (D.-R.I.) and Graham Purcell (D.-Tex.) are wavering.

The prospects for the measure—if it reaches the House floor—also look good.

Besides the traditional conservative support for the bill, Rep. Betts has been astonished that his measure has also gained approval from the liberals. The Ohio solon nearly fell out of his seat when Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) phoned him to add his endorsement.

What frightens conservatives and liberals alike is that the census has been gradually increasing in scope. In the 1970 census, current plans call for three out of every four families to answer a "short form" listing 22 questions. One in four will get a "long form" containing 43 additional inquiries, or a total of 65. Every 20th household will get a slightly longer form calling for 70 answers.

If an individual fails to respond to an inquiry, he could be put in jail 60 days and fined $100. A one-year sentence and a $500 fine can be imposed for "willfully giving an incorrect answer."

Basically, the Betts proposal would restrict the "mandatory" replies to a few simple questions. The Ohio congressman is also getting help in his cause from the Senate side. Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.) is holding hearings to "consider the rights of citizens with respect to these questionnaires."

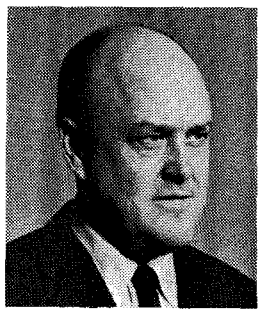
For some curious reason, Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans, whose department oversees the Census Bureau, seems opposed to the Betts bill. He thinks the data is necessary in "the development of minority business enterprise."

But President Nixon may well remind Secretary Stans of the 1968 Republican platform plank, which states:

" . . . The increasing government intrusion into the privacy of its employes and of its citizens in general is intolerable. All such snooping, meddling, and pressure by the federal government of its citizens will be stopped. . . ."

Laird's Hawkish Views

Defense Secretary Melvin Laird continues to be the most hawkish-sounding and persuasive member of the Administration. In eloquently arguing the need for an anti-ballistic missile system last week, Laird warned that the Soviet Union was rapidly heading toward what military experts call a "first strike" capability—a capacity to overwhelm the United States with a devastating nuclear blow from which we could neither retaliate nor recover. Laird said the Nixon Administration was particularly worried about the SS-9 long-range missile with a warhead of 20 to 25 megatons of nuclear power—a weapon that could be used against this country's offensive missiles in a surprise first strike.



LAIRD

To justify the decision to place a missile defense barrier around two Minuteman missile fields, Laird's deputy, David Packard, showed the Senate Armed Services Committee charts indicating that the Russians have just about matched the United States in the number of land-based missiles in a construction program that is continuing and that they are building Polaris-type missile submarines at a rate that might bring them equal with the United States in the early 1970s.

"The people of America and the world have never heard anything like this before," remarked Chairman John Stennis (D.-Miss.) of the Armed Services Committee. "I think they will be shocked by it."

The Laird view on the state of U.S. defenses is in sharp contrast to the rosy picture presented by his predecessor, Robert McNamara, but military experts say that Laird's ideas—as jolting as they are—are far closer to the truth.

SBA Aids Mafia

Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) charged last week that the Small Business Administration under the Johnson regime lent hundreds of thousands of dollars of the public's money to a company controlled by the Mafia.

The company, said Gross, "is the ANR Leasing Corp., of New York City, which is controlled by Cosa Nostra member John Maisello Sr. . . . Another member of that firm is Thomas A. McKeever, who has a federal and state criminal record as long as your arm. A third official of the company is John Maisello Jr., who also possesses a criminal record."

Aside from doing business with the SBA, said Gross, the same company is also in the business of leasing vehicles to the Post Office Department. "I regret to say that I have, so far," said Gross, "been unable to obtain the specifics of this lease arrangement from Post Office Department officials despite repeated calls from my office for it."

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One Judge Who's Tough on Criminals

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

How do you stop crime? For years some sociologists and their journalistic allies argued that punishment did not deter crime, that stiff sentences and tough law enforcement did not reduce the crime rate. What was needed, they protested, was more welfare.

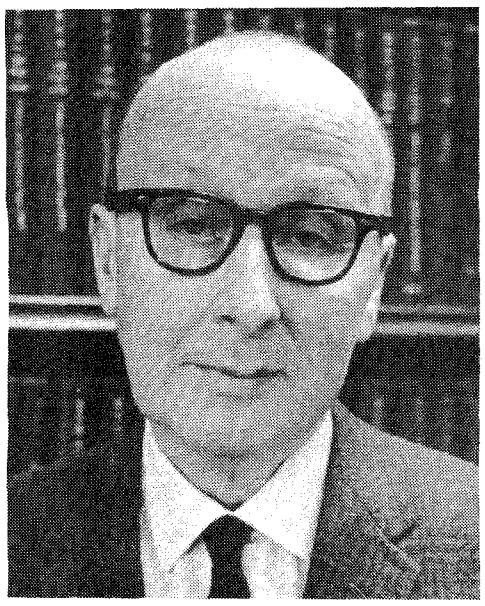
No one can dispute the argument that some of the nation's crime breeds in the slums and much of it in the prisons, which substitute cruelty for rehabilitation. But the facts are in on at least one of the crime fronts, and they demonstrate that toughness in dealing with criminals does pay off.

That front is Washington, D.C., where bank robberies have been escalating month after month until they reached the record of 19 in January. Then, in February, that figure plummeted to two robberies in the Nation's Capital.

What did it?

Even the anti-punishment forces have conceded that one of the factors was District Court Judge George L. Hart. In sentencing an armed bandit to from 15 years to life, under a previously unnoticed provision in the 1967 D.C. Crime Act, Judge Hart served notice on criminals in Washington "that anyone else convicted by a jury before me of armed robbery may expect a similar sentence."

According to police informants, these words sent a shiver down the backs of



Partly because of stiffer sentences handed down by judges like D.C.'s George Hart (above), the crime rate in the capital is showing a downturn.

the District's criminal element. Suddenly, robbing banks became less of an indoor sport and more of a hazard.

There has been other bad news for crooks. In the past, judges would release suspects on their personal recognizance—that is, without bail. Before they came to trial, they were granted delays and continuances, putting off the evil day of judgment. Recently, however, the courts have been imposing stiff bail.

Twenty-one bank robbery suspects have been arrested since January 1, and 16 of these are in jail because they were unable to raise bail ranging from $15,000 to $30,000. Since a substantial number of armed robberies are committed by suspects out awaiting trial, their inability to raise high bail has contributed mightily to the decline in D.C. crime.

Another inhibiting factor has been the creation of a special detective squad, working in tandem with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and resulting in quicker arrest of criminals and more airtight cases to be prosecuted. This, too, has not been lost on the criminal element. It has become obvious to them that crime doesn't pay as well as it once did.

It would be too much to take the evidence of one month as a sign that Washington's crime wave has been stopped. But it does prove fairly conclusively that criminals think twice before knocking over a bank when they know what the consequences will be. It may be, too, that the successes thus far achieved will be negated by pressure on the courts and the police because bail has been "harsh."

The lesson is there, however, for all to study. Other cities equally plagued by a high incidence of armed robbery can duplicate Washington's measures with like effect. If they do, then some kind of sanity will return to the American scene. And with this sanity may come the realization that there is nothing mysterious about what encourages men to crime. The lawlessness that has marked the last five years did not come about because there was a marked increase in poverty, a decrease in opportunity.

If economic and sociological conditions alone caused crime, then there would have been a decrease in the rate. But the attitude of courts and the public has been directly pertinent. The courts have made nit-picking the rule in determining the validity of convictions. The trend has been to reduce bail till it became meaningless, thus dumping suspects back to their lairs where they have plotted other crimes.

This has driven police and prosecutors up a wall of frustration. And it has built a sanctuary for malefactors that made crime easy and of little risk. When the law is speedily and stringently enforced, the criminal knows it. He must weigh the possible advantages against the disadvantages. Having created this Frankenstein monster, the courts now have the opportunity to destroy it.

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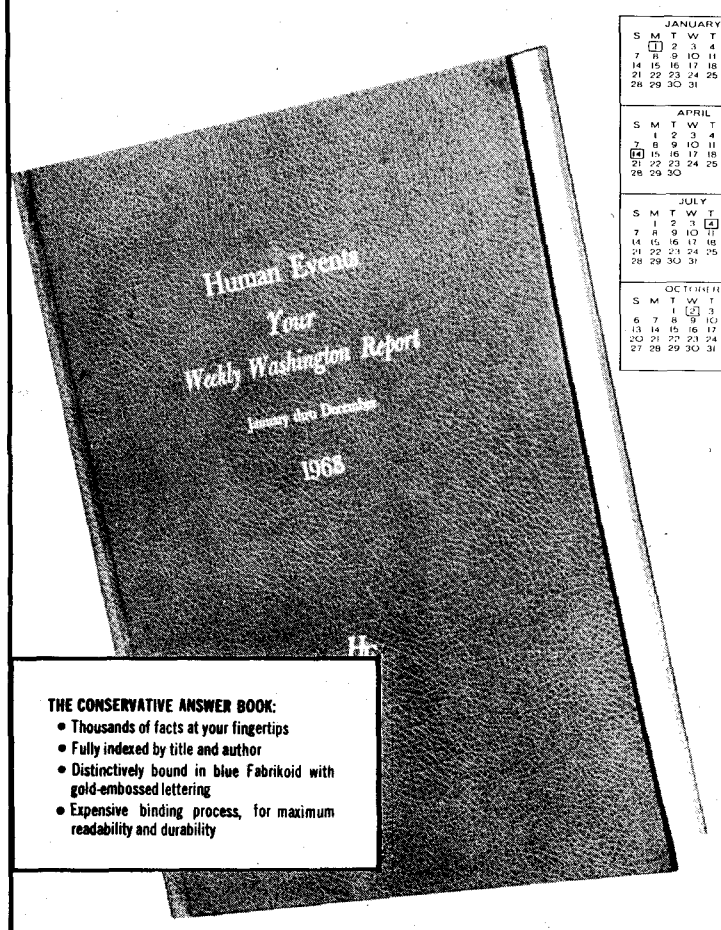

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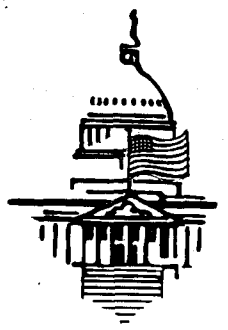

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Lines Hardening Nationwide

Progress Report on the Anti-SDS Revolt

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The campus disrupters are still getting plenty of attention, and the newspaper wire services, in an attempt to cover all of the news, have taken to printing daily or weekly box scores of the ramifying disturbances. But along with the escalation of the nihilist revolution there goes a hardening process typified by the strong stand of Father Hesburgh of Notre Dame on the other side.

The reaction to Students for a Democratic Society hell-raising is apparent in little ways as well as big. There is (1) the "flexible" response, which accepts the student right to petition for a redress of grievances, but insists that the simultaneous right of other students to study in an "academic environment" (meaning peace and quiet) shall be respected. Quinnipiac College in Hamden, Conn., has just come up with a new "flexible" gimmick; it set aside two days for a series of student "talk-ins," inviting protests on everything from grading practices to ways of defining and dealing with the power structure. The idea was to get the gripes on the record, with subsequent "hearings oriented toward action" promised to "carry out the implications" of the talk-ins.

There is (2) the student "counter-revolutionary" response, as the example of Students for Columbia University (SCU) makes plain. Sparked by a sophomore, Fred Lowell, this organization fights petition with petition, and is prepared to battle physically, if necessary, to keep university buildings open and classes in session.

Warned that the Columbia New Left may be about to use violence *to get ROTC (Reserve Officers* Training Corps) out of the curriculum and off the campus, SCU is busy getting names on a petition claiming the "fundamental right" of the one hundred students in the local Naval ROTC to belong to its group and to receive academic credit for it "as long as the NROTC courses meet the academic standards of the university."

Students for Columbia University are also organizing to preserve open recruiting on the campus, to fight against the idea of amnesty for those who destroy property, and to stand behind the hundred members of the Columbia faculty who have made their own decision to keep their classes open.

The Committee for an Academic Environment is spreading from S.I. Hayakawa's San Francisco State to other California colleges; in the Plains states of the Middle West SPASM, or the Society for the Prevention of Asinine Student Movements, is staging "protests against protests," and at Purdue in Indiana 6,000 students have voted for open recruiting.

In Washington, D.C., the Associated Student Governments, presenting the case "for responsible student governments," have set up a national office. ASG intends to do a coordinating business to "foster a pattern of constructive student government across the nation." Its first service has been to publish a glossary of terms and a historic flow chart of student movements that will enable anyone to know just where specific campus organizations stand on the question of violence as it is related to change.

The hardening that is going on against campus disrupters has suddenly catapulted Gov. Ronald Reagan of California to his all-time popularity peak. A year ago, after Reagan's first year in office, the voters were split 50-50 on the California governor's competence. But today only 15 per cent of the voters think Reagan is doing a poor job, whereas 80 per cent list him as "fair-to-good." The upsurge in popularity followed Reagan's tough stand on the subject of campus violence. He could be easily re-elected today.

The resurgence of Reagan's popularity has not been lost on Mayor John Vliet Lindsay of New York, who has decided the time has come to crack down on student disrupters in the New York City high schools. Three years ago Lindsay advocated a civilian control board to ride herd on the police. Now he wants the police to ride herd on the more unruly high school kids. If the signal can get through to a liberal like Lindsay, it is a sure sign the atmosphere is changing. The days when the militants of the SDS had it all their way are numbered.

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Highlighting the concern about campus disorders is this conference on St. Patrick's Day between President Nixon and San Francisco State College President S. I. Hayakawa, who is deservedly a symbol of opposition to student rebels.

The Main Lesson of the 'Pueblo'

By ALICE WIDENER

Now that the Navy Court of Inquiry into the *Pueblo* case is ended, it will be studied in Washington, D.C., by the chief of Naval Operations, secretary of the navy, and by committees of Congress. When all other aspects of the *Pueblo* case are dealt with, there remains the main issue: How did it happen the way it happened?

To answer that question there must be a profound effort by men in the highest echelon of our government to reach intellectual agreement on two basic subjects: (1) The nature of the Communist enemy; (2) the proper substance of armed forces indoctrination programs. The vital need for such agreement was revealed in the admission by Rear Adm. Frank Johnson, commander of the naval task force in charge of the *Pueblo*, that he saw no reason to anticipate unlawful seizure on the high seas of an American ship, since such an act "had not happened in 150 years."

Adm. Johnson's statement shows a lack of understanding about the nature of the Communist enemy. Underlying it is the basic error of the political policy that prevailed in our State Department, Department of Defense, and White House during the period 1961-1968. That policy was formed after presentation of the notorious "Fulbright Memorandum," presented by Sen. J. William Fulbright to Defense Secretary Robert McNamara. The document was responsible for weakening all anti-Communist briefing in the armed forces and for a change of semantics in all U.S. pronouncements concerning the Communist enemy. He became, instead, "the adversary."

In the U.S. policy formed in accordance with the Fulbright Memorandum, the hypocrisy of genteelism became a virtue and acknowledgment of reality a sin. U.S. policy became one of "accommodation with our adversaries." Our political propaganda strategy was based on the theory that the Soviets were mellowing, "Stalinism" was ended forever, hard-line anti-communism was "McCarthyism," and the greatest danger to our nation lay not in Communist aggression but in the "mentality" of our American military against whom American intellectuals were encouraged to wage a ceaselessly derogatory propaganda campaign on campus and in novels, movies, television shows and magazine articles.

Anti-communism during 1961-1968 became unacceptable socially in American political, literary and academic circles, and even at West Point, Annapolis, the Air Force Academy and National War College. To think that Communists would do anything so lawless or sadistic as to capture an American ship and torture American sailors was beyond belief.

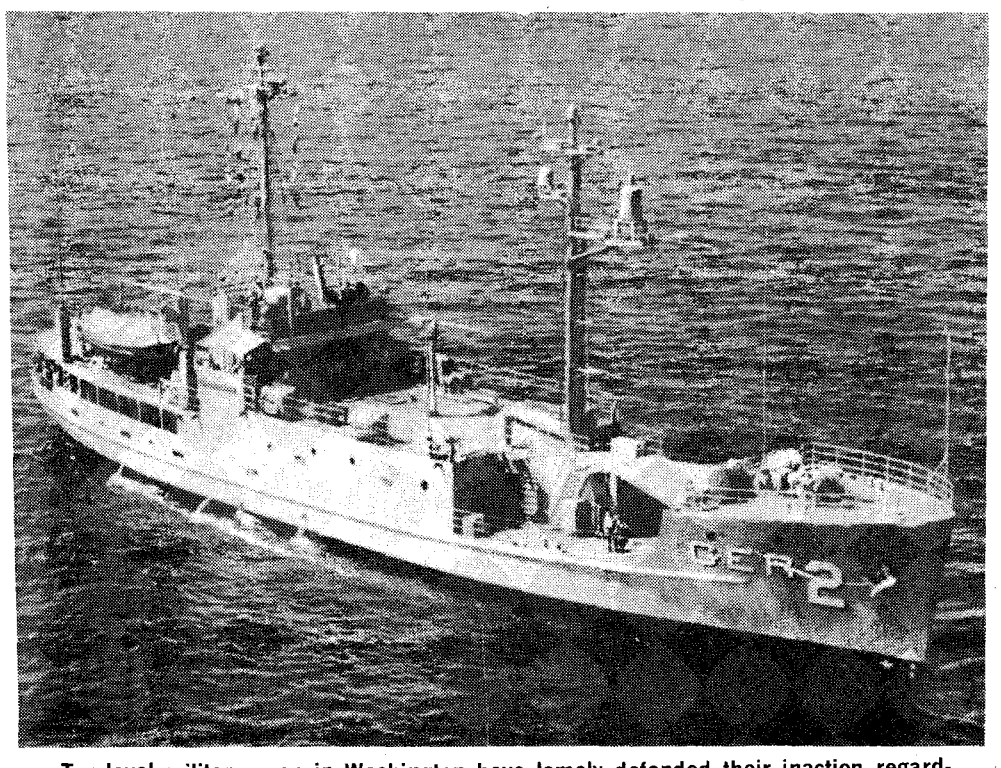
To think that our North Korean adversaries (though they violated the 1953 armistice agreement a thousand times) would violate centuries-old traditions of the sea under international law and seize an American ship in international waters was unthinkable. Like other commanders carrying out U.S. policy of genteelism, Adm. Johnson thought it unthinkable.

The military Code of Conduct, drawn up as a result of the Communists' sadistic treatment of our GIs taken prisoner in the Korean War, still was in existence when the *Pueblo* was seized, but the moral ground on which the code was constructed had been eroded by an official U.S. policy of belittlement of patriotism. No patriotic home front was fostered by our government in support of our men in Viet Nam. Since a policy of "anything goes" in favor of the North Vietnamese Communist enemy was accepted within the United States, it was only natural that the North Koreans should believe it would accept their policy of anything goes.

The best thing that can come out of the *Pueblo* tragedy is American recognition of the fact that Communists mean to smash all good traditions of the last 150 years. They look on us as enemies, not adversaries. They have only one policy toward enemies—for Communist victory, anything goes. So we had better be prepared for it, at all times in all places.

The main lesson of the *Pueblo* is that the United States should junk its policy of genteelism toward all Reds and adopt one of realism.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)



Top-level military men in Washington have lamely defended their inaction regarding the Pueblo seizure by saying that the North Korean action was not foreseen. But, says Mrs. Widener, that's not the point.

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GOP Senators Barry Goldwater and Ed Gurney are among those in the upper body who are trying to inject some realism into government regulation of food standards.

Hot Dogs, Tomatoes and Freedom

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Consider the humble hot dog. Consider the salad tomato. And let us reflect, if you please, upon the problems that arise when self-interest, operating in the name of the law, intrudes upon a free market.

The venerable weenie, as every housewife knows, comes in three varieties: "All beef," "all meat," and simply "frankfurters." American poultry producers have no interest in the "all beef" variety, but they have a hungry concern for the other two. They would like very much to be able freely to sell left-over parts of a chicken, just as left-over parts of a sheep or a pig are sold, to be ground up for the sausage that makes up a hot dog.

Now, you might imagine, in a free society, that this modest desire would present no formidable problems. After all, poultry is "meat," and if the customers don't object, what's wrong with putting pure and edible chicken in a hot dog? With mustard, relish and ketchup, who could tell the difference?

Nothing is that simple any more. Congress enacted a Wholesome Meat Act in 1967, and then enacted a Wholesome Poultry Products Act in 1968. The natural process of reproduction began to function: Laws breed rules and regulations. Along came a regulation laying down new labeling requirements for the hot dog. Henceforth, chicken could not be routinely listed in the small-type description of ingredients, along with pork, mutton, and goat meat. If chicken were used, the name of the product itself would have to be changed, to "Frank-Chicken Added," or to "Chicken Franks."

Other regulations also were proposed. One rule would limit the amount of chicken in a weenie to 25 per cent; no such limitation would be placed on other meats. Another rule would require that chicken used in an "all meat" frankfurter would have to combine white and dark meat in natural proportions. Still a third proposal would demand that chicken be described as "comminuted" chicken.

The effect, if not the purpose, of these several regulations is to make it difficult for the chicken men to muscle into the hot dog market. The effect is also to cramp the natural competitive flow of free products in a free economy. So much for chickens.

The story of tomatoes follows the same pattern. In recent years a considerable tomato-growing industry has developed in Mexico. The United States, as part of its good neighbor policy, has assisted in the program; and the Mexicans, for their part, have responded by purchasing millions of dollars in processing machinery from the U.S. So far, so good.

But one of the notable features of fruit and vegetable marketing is that federal law permits farmer-producer committees effectively to regulate their own business. It is a beautiful system. No other industry has anything quite like it. If a committee decided that only tomatoes of a certain size shall be sold, such a recommendation routinely is translated into an order from the secretary of agriculture. Presto! The market is so regulated, and the gimmick is this: Requirements imposed upon domestic producers apply to imported products also.

Thus it was that the Florida Tomato Committee, fearful of sharp competition this winter from south of the border, asked and obtained a decree in January from Agriculture Secretary Freeman to this effect: Vine-ripened tomatoes smaller in diameter than 2 17/32 inches shall not be sold. Neither shall green tomatoes smaller than 2 9/32 inches be marketed. The effect is to bar 30 per cent of the Mexican crop from American tables. Prices are up. Housewives are unhappy and the Mexicans are howling.

The political and economic pressures that produced these laws, rules and regulations now are producing other pressures. President Nixon is hearing from Sen. Goldwater, in behalf of the Mexican tomato growers. He also is hearing from Senators Holland and Gurney, in behalf of the Florida interests. The National Broiler Council is squawking to Secretary Hardin about the "Chicken Frank" dilemma.

The prospect is for revised regulations that may soothe the ruffled poultrymen. The tomato problem ripens slowly. Meanwhile, let philosophers contemplate the problems of a society that measures its comminuted freedoms by the thirty-second of an inch.

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The Motorman 'Got Involved'

By PAUL HARVEY

There was a "demonstration" of significance the other morning in Chicago.

The Lake Street elevated train, "the El," loaded with commuters, was Loop-bound approaching California Street when, in the fourth car back, a man in his middle 50s turned pale, let go, slumped to the floor.

Nobody screamed. Nobody moved toward him. Those near him drew back in stunned silence or unconcern.

The elevated guard, in that car at that time, pulled the emergency cord; the speeding train screeched to a stop at the next station. The El guard ran into the station, shouted for somebody to call the police, which somebody did.

Several passengers, expecting the train to be delayed, got off.

The man lay still on the floor of car four, turning grey against the dark blue of his crumpled, almost shabby windbreaker.

It was then that the motorman from four cars ahead ran back down the platform, entered car four and in an instant was on his knees beside the fallen passenger. Ripping open the man's coat and shirt, the motorman placed his ear to the exposed chest, listening. He heard nothing.

Other passengers stood and watched or sat and watched—or resumed reading the sports pages.

It was the motorman, Tom Patterson, who began urgently to massage the fallen man's chest. When there was no response it was the motorman who placed his mouth over that of the unconscious man and sought to breathe some of his own life into the silent lungs.

Minutes went by; there was no perceptible response. The motorman did not give up, did not look up, continued his persistent, determined effort at artificial respiration until, when the police arrived with oxygen, the stricken man was breathing again.

And it was the motorman who held the oxygen while police placed the man on a stretcher and removed him toward the hospital.

The delayed train resumed its run. The delayed passengers, with a sigh or a shrug, showed only relief that the gaunt, prostrate man was now out of sight, that they were again on their way; they would not be too late for work.

The man they last saw standing alive—they last saw prone on a stretcher—died in the hospital. The motorman returned to work. When his work day was done he would make out a formal report—on his own time.

Perhaps it should not make any difference that the passenger, Fred A. Ellerman, so long ignored there on the floor, was white. And that the man who kept him alive if only for a little while in the only effort to rescue him was motorman Tom Patterson, 27, who is black.

It should not make any difference. It's just that you've read so much about the "demonstrations" in Chicago that I thought you should read about this one.

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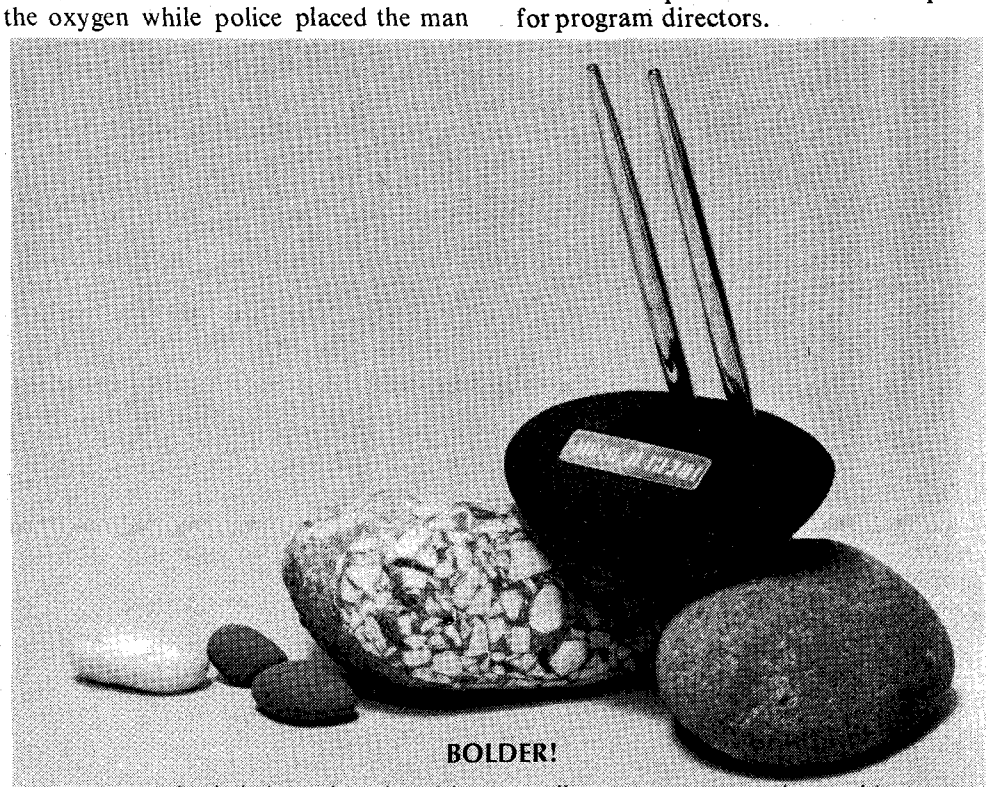
OEO'S FORCED LARGESS—The director of an anti-poverty project in rural Pennsylvania has resigned his post because of criticism from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) that he refused to spend all the federal money OEO gave him. J. Willard Shields, former executive director of Community Action Programs, Inc., in Fayetteville, Pa., said upon resigning that "I did not choose to become a partner and a member of that great national fraternity; OEO involved drones, dedicated to siphoning off unearned tax dollars at every turn." OEO had criticized Shields for not hiring more non-productive staff personnel and returning money for this purpose to the U.S. Treasury. When Shields began his anti-poverty activities four years ago he refused to take any salary, but OEO eventually forced him to accept its established stipend for program directors.



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What Should the U.S. Do?

Eyewitness Report on Biafra

By REP. DONALD E. (BUZ) LUKENS and FULTON LEWIS III

"We are Biafrans fighting for our freedom! By the name of Jesus, we shall conquer!" Those are the words of the most popular battle song in a besieged part of the world known as Biafra, and those two sentences express very vividly the strong sentiments of the more than nine million people who live there.

For nearly a week in mid-December 1968 we observed these people and their leaders at close range. For us this was strictly a fact-finding mission. We made this trip with no previous commitment and very little background information.

To insure our objectivity we scheduled visits of equal duration to the territories of both sides in the Nigerian-Biafran war. There were lengthy conversations with the government officials in both Lagos, Nigeria and Umuahia, Biafra—with Nigerian leader Gen. Yakubu Gowon and Biafran Chief of State Lt. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu.

We freely concede that it is impossible to be "objective" about some aspects of this conflict. How do you maintain indifference while you help rescue teams search for bodies in the rubble of a Biafran hospital which has just been bombed by Soviet-manufactured Nigerian aircraft? The human tragedy caused by this war has shocked and outraged the conscience of the civilized world and understandably so. The statistics here speak for themselves.

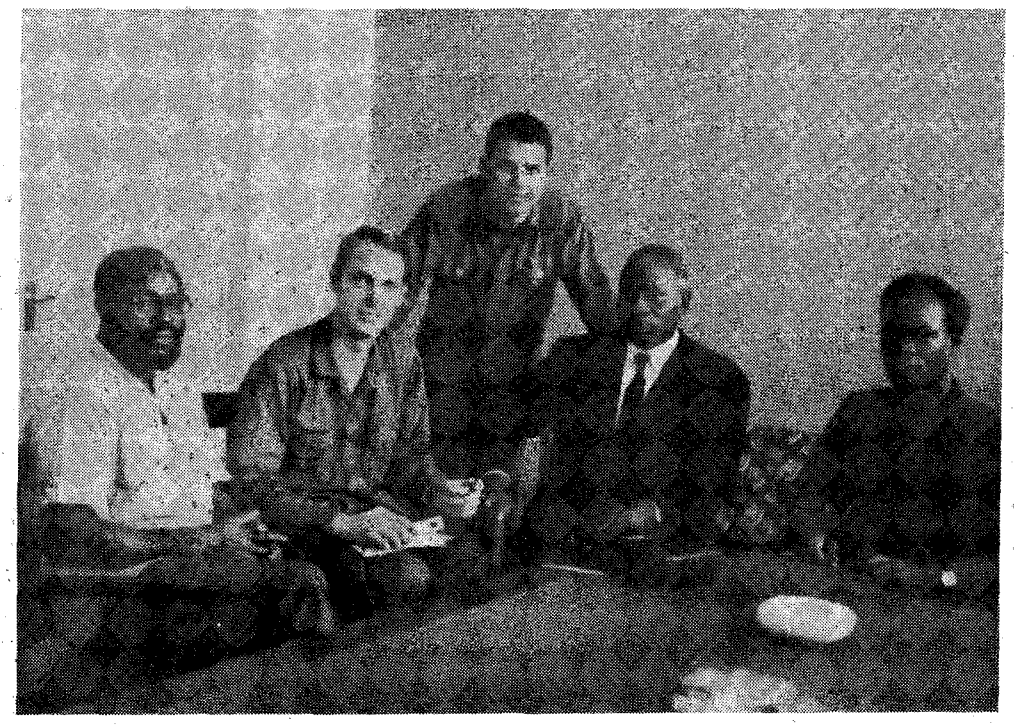
At least 1.5 million Biafrans—mostly women and children—have died of starvation and malnutrition since this war started nearly 22 months ago. Unless relief efforts are sharply accelerated immediately, an equal or greater number will die in the next six months.

Although the Nigerians claim their air war has been directed only against "military targets," an estimated one hundred Biafran civilians have been killed in these attacks for every one Biafran soldier. In addition, official observers of the International Red Cross have documented the fact that the Nigerian air raids have struck each and every one of the 14 hospitals inside the 29,000 square-mile area originally held by Biafran forces. Other bombs have leveled scores of churches, feeding centers, market places, schools and refugee camps in the 8,000 square miles presently controlled by Biafra.

The conduct of the Nigerian war effort has given credibility to the Biafran charges of "genocide." Gen. Gowon has admitted that "food is a principal weapon in this war" and, with this in mind, the Nigerians have attempted to sever or at least disrupt the lifeline of relief supplies for Biafra which has been established by concerned international humanitarian agencies. We personally experienced two Nigerian bombing attacks on Biafra's only existing airfield at Uli.

Despite this nightly harassment, the relief flights continue to land each night under the cloak of darkness bringing in their life-saving cargoes of protein-rich foods, multi-vitamin tablets and medicines. Most of the distribution centers which have been established to relay these relief goods to Biafra's suffering citizens also have been forced to operate at night, since the Nigerian planes have a habit of dropping their bombs wherever people are gathered.

Rightly or wrongly, all of these actions have been regarded by the Biafrans as conclusive evidence that Nigeria is seeking more than political reunification of its divided nation. Every Biafran is convinced that Federal Nigeria's true objective is the extermination of every Biafran man, woman and child.



This photo was taken in Hall of Justice, Umuahia, Biafra, moments before an air attack. From left to right: Prof. Eni Njoku, chancellor of the University of Biafra; Fulton Lewis; Rep. Lukens; Chief Justice Louis Mbanefo, and Dr. Sylvanus Cookey, a professor at the University of Biafra.

This, the Biafran believes, is a war of survival and this belief has driven him not only to withstand the shortage of food and the bombing attacks, it has also inspired his ill-trained and poorly fed soldiers to fight on with remarkable determination and courage.

It is impossible to spend any time inside this besieged enclave in western Africa without being tremendously impressed by the Biafran people.

With the conviction of a Patrick Henry and the valor of a Moshe Dayan, the Biafrans have taken on what sometimes must seem like the entire outside world in their struggle to preserve the economic and political independence which they declared on May 30, 1967.

With an army which consisted of only several thousand inexperienced soldiers—armed with an arsenal totaling 125 rifles—Biafra went to war in the summer of 1968 against an enemy, the Federal Nigerian government, which boasted an infantry of 50,000, supplied, supported and armed by at least two major world powers—Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Through sheer courage and determination, the Biafran forces have defied predictions by international military "experts" who said they would be crushed by the Nigerians in just 48 hours.

Today, after a series of Nigerian "final pushes" have failed, Biafra has achieved a virtual stalemate on most battlefronts. In the southern perimeter, the Biafrans indeed may have seized the offensive and appear to be on the verge of scoring some dramatic military victories of their own. They are threatening to recapture the city of Owerri where they have encircled 2,000 Nigerian troops and they are pressing on toward Port Harcourt, the oil capital of western Africa on the Gulf of Guinea.

Whereas the instinct for survival has pushed the Biafrans on to remarkable military achievement, it has been difficult for Gen. Gowon to motivate his Nigerian forces. Many have grown tired of pursuing a war which they anticipated would be over in two days. Desertions are increasing and, to make matters worse for the Federal Nigerian government, there have been serious outbreaks of rioting by taxpayers who have grown weary of carrying the financial burden of this war.

Discouraged over Gowon's lack of progress and uneasy over increased domestic protests of its own, the British government may also be tiring of its subsidy of Federal Nigeria's war effort. Prime Minister Harold Wilson will make a personal visit to Lagos later this month and it is reliably reported that he will give Gowon one last chance to achieve a military victory over the Biafrans. If the war continues to drag on, Wilson will explain, it will have to drag on without any further help from Great Britain.

Even the Nigerians apparently anticipate the worst from Wilson's upcoming visit. Last week, a prominent Lagos newspaper—regarded as a mouthpiece for the Gowon regime—heaped praise on the Soviet Union for its invasion of Czechoslovakia last summer. The publication, significantly, stated that Nigeria should start negotiations now with arms dealers throughout the world to protect itself in the event Britain decides to stop supplying arms.

Undoubtedly, Moscow stands ready and anxious to assume complete responsibility for stocking the Nigerian arsenal—a fact which is of great concern to British and American government officials.

The present Nigerian-Biafran war probably started for the same reasons that have caused other outbreaks of violence on the African continent.

The ancient, European-drawn boundaries of old Nigeria had thrown together hostile tribal and religious factions into one "nation." There was peace while British forces remained on Nigerian soil, but when that country was awarded its independence in October 1960 and the foreign troops went home, the traditional antagonisms began to reappear.

"Democracy" is a system of majority rule and in Nigeria it was not long before the larger tribal units learned that they could join forces to achieve that majority. They would then use the newly created government as a device to carry out reprisals against a common enemy—a minority tribe. Between 1961 and 1966 there were a series of such alliances in Nigeria. The last of these came when the Yorubas in the west ganged up with the Hausas and Fulanis in the north against the Ibos in the east.

Months of persecution culminated with a series of pogroms during which an estimated 30,000 Ibos, living in the north, were brutally murdered by militant Hausa and Fulani tribesmen. Concerned for their safety, more than two million Ibos fled home to the Eastern Region where they were the dominant tribe.

After attempts at reconciliation failed, Col. Ojukwu, on May 30, 1967, declared that the Easterners would leave the Nigerian Federation to establish their own independent nation of Biafra. One and a half months later, Nigerian troops attempted to militarily force a political reunification, giving birth to the war which is still being waged.

The memory of the pogroms—the brutal massacre by the militant Muslims in the north of tens of thousands of Christian Ibos—is still fresh in the minds of surviving Biafrans. Herein lies the initial basis for the Biafran's fear of "genocide."

The Biafran, and particularly the Ibo, is also aware of the fact that he is deeply resented by his neighbors to the west and north. Frequently called "the Jew of Africa," he is exceptionally energetic, educated and enterprising. Before the war, he had earned and thus held a position as the intellectual and commercial elite in Nigeria. He was truly the envy of his less productive and less prosperous neighbors, but this envy soon gave birth to hatred.

Now, Africa's most gifted and industrious people are threatened with extinction. Only the Nigerians themselves know whether "genocide" is their motive. It is clear, however, that this has been the net result and with each death by starvation, each Nigerian air attack on a densely populated civilian area, the Biafran becomes more convinced than ever that he now has no choice but to fight on to the bitter end. Repeatedly we were told: "If we lose or surrender, we will be slaughtered. We would rather die fighting than on our knees."

Increasingly the so-called "Nigerian civil war" has attracted the interest of the outside world. Today, it is neither "civil" in its conduct nor in scope. Now this conflict possesses great international significance both politically and economically.

Great Britain has been a major supplier of arms to Nigeria. On the surface, the Harold Wilson regime justifies this military aid—which consists of everything from rifles and ammunition to heavy artillery and trucks converted into tanks—by saying it is necessary to

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Rep. Lukens, Republican from Ohio, is serving his second term in Congress. Mr. Lewis is well-known for his radio broadcasts and also maintains a heavy speaking and debating schedule.

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offset the influence the Soviet Union has achieved over the federal government in Lagos through its military aid. Furthermore, London argues, Nigeria is still a Commonwealth nation.

In reality, British interests appear to be a bit more selfish than this.

Biafra, remember, declared its independence from Nigeria on May 30, 1967. The next week there was a significant war in the Middle East which resulted in the closing of the Suez Canal. The Soviet-influenced Arab nations had already reduced their supply of oil to the NATO nations to a trickle and with the closure of the vital canal link other traditional sources of oil were denied to Western Europe—or at least were made relatively inaccessible.

Britain, faced with a petroleum crisis, immediately turned to its Commonwealth partner, Nigeria, which happened to be the tenth largest oil producer in the world. The rich oil lands in the delta areas around the mouth of the Niger River, it is estimated, have the potential of making their owner the third largest oil producer in the world. Roughly 70 per cent of these oil lands, however, were in the territory claimed by Biafra.

The Wilson government, although somewhat embarrassed by the barbarism of the Nigerian military effort, has continued to support Lagos with heavy shipments of arms, hoping to expedite "a quick kill" of Biafra, thereby preserving for Britain this vital source of oil.

Moscow's interest in the internal problems of oil-rich nations has not been limited to the Arab countries: Following a consistent pattern in their program of world conquest, the Soviet Communists are making a concerted effort to achieve a dominance over oil-producing nations wherever possible. The thrust of this effort has been directed toward areas around and south of the Mediterranean, for Moscow knows that if it succeeds in shutting off the supply of oil to the NATO nations it will have achieved control of the jugular vein of the free world.

Consequently, the Russians have tried to tighten their stranglehold on Yemen. They were also quick to attempt to exploit the situation in western Africa. A successful colonization of Nigeria, the Soviets believed, would offer additional dividends. It would give Moscow a land-base in black Africa—something it has not enjoyed since it was forcibly ejected from both Ghana and Guinea. From here, the Soviets could try to expand their influence further.

In addition, Nigeria would offer one other tempting prize: a seaport for the Red navy at Lagos on the Atlantic Ocean—the fulfillment of a Soviet dream.

The flow of Soviet-manufactured weapons of war into Nigeria has increased steadily over the past year and a half.

The Nigerian air force consists solely of MIG jets and Ilyushin bombers. These planes, reportedly, are flown by Egyptian pilots who have been sent south to aid a Muslim neighbor in distress (President Nasser also views this exercise as a rehearsal for the next outing against the Israelis).

In recent months new Soviet weaponry has appeared on the Nigerian front lines: trucks, rifles, hand grenades, rockets and an almost unlimited supply of ammunition. Last week, two Russian destroyers and two missile-equipped submarines dropped anchor in the harbor at Lagos which is already being used as a refueling point for Soviet vessels en route to and from Communist Cuba.

Soviet influence over the Nigerian government has become significant, causing more than one Western diplomat to wonder whether Moscow's colonization effort has not already proved successful.

French Interests in Biafra

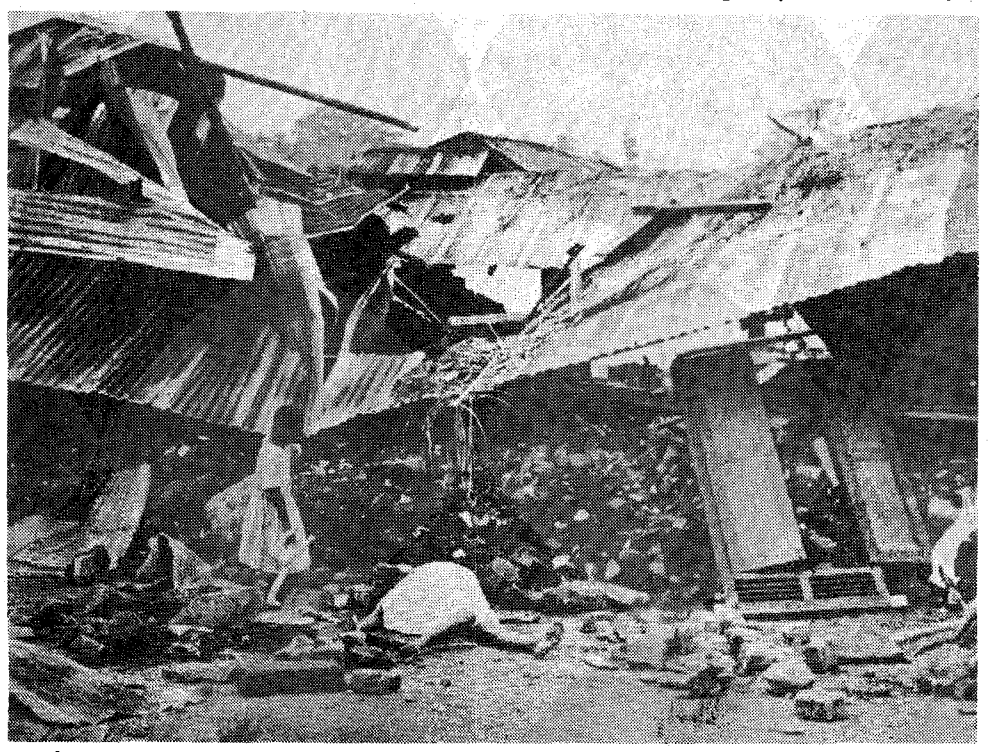
France has been the only major world power which has been a maverick in the Nigerian-Biafran struggle. French officials have quietly arranged for some shipments of small arms to slip into Biafra. The Biafrans have purchased other weapons on the black market in Europe.

De Gaulle has become a strong champion of the Biafran cause, although as yet he has not followed the lead of Tanzania, Zambia, Gabon and the Ivory Coast in extending formal diplomatic recognition to the Ojukwu government. The French president detests the British and is anxious to do anything he can to embarrass Harold Wilson's foreign policy, particularly in Africa where France, itself, has been a failure.

In addition, France is experiencing some oil difficulties of its own with Algeria which, with stiff Soviet prodding, has become increasingly stingy with its rich petroleum resources. If the Biafrans are successful, de Gaulle must reason, a strong alliance between France and Biafra would be a natural development and the oil would flow for many years to come.

The position of the United States in the Nigerian-Biafran conflict is a little difficult to follow.

On the one hand, the State Department professes a policy of "neutrality."



A pregnant woman (center) is one of the innumerable civilian victims of the Nigerian bombing. The African crisis has also pointed up the double standard of U.S. diplomacy.

Murdered Biafrans provide mute testimony to the incompetence of the Western powers to deal with the Nigerian "civil war." Behind much of the Nigerian aggression is the fine hand of Soviet communism.

But, as one pundit commented, "We are neutral against Biafra." Until recently, our foreign policy-makers tried to tiptoe gently around the situation pretending, whenever possible, that the war simply did not exist. When confronted, the State Department would explain that the United States backs the concept of "one Nigeria" (i.e., the Nigerian government's position) and the U.S. ambassador to Lagos, Elbert Mathews, went so far as to tell us during a meeting in his office: "A quick kill of Biafra would be the most humane solution to this war."

Fearful of being tagged as a supporter of Nigerian "genocide," however, our diplomats have hastened to add that the United States has been *the* principal contributor to the relief effort aimed at alleviating the suffering which has resulted from "the Nigerian civil war." That claim merits some closer examination.

Since the United States government does not recognize Biafra diplomatically, it has been forced to send the bulk of its P.L. 480 (surplus food) shipments to Lagos with a request that Gen. Gowon forward them on to the starving people in the "Eastern Region." That is tantamount to asking Mao Tse-tung to forward money on to Nationalist China's Red Cross.

Ambassador Mathews conceded that of a total of 20,000 tons of food (70 per cent of this having come from the U.S. government) which has reached Nigeria during the war, only 7,000 tons have been given to starving war victims and most of these have been in Federal-held territory. The other 13,000 tons continue to sit and rot on the docks in Lagos.

As Mathews explained, "We are stockpiling this food so that it can be shipped into needy areas the moment this war is over." That moment, he admitted, appears to be a long way off.

Under the Nixon Administration there has been a somewhat greater display of concern over the humanitarian crisis in Biafra. The U.S. government pays a small fee to subsidize part of the cost of airlifting food into Biafra (as long as it is American food and the flight is completed). Two months ago it sold eight huge C-97 cargo planes to the relief agencies, but because of a shortage of replacement parts and pilots, only one of these planes has gone into active service in the mercy airlift.

Militarily, our government has not been completely "neutral." The Biafrans have captured three of the twenty-seven 106-mm recoilless rifles—a formidable weapon—which the United States had supplied to Nigeria. Federal forces have also used with great effectiveness the U.S.-supplied 105-mm howitzers. Here at home, the State Department is proceeding with a program to give "combat engineering" courses to eight Nigerian military officers at Ft. Belvoir, Va.

The most disturbing aspect of the State Department's policy, however, is its gross inconsistency.

Throughout the world, the United States has stood boldly for the rights of people to self-determination. In Korea, Viet Nam and Germany we were even willing to sponsor the division of formerly united nations in order to insure that at least *some* of the people would be granted their political freedom. Although these boundaries were by no means sacred, we suddenly claim that the Nigerian situation is different. "One Nigeria" must be preserved at all costs —even though it is now very evident that "one Nigeria" will never be achieved except over the dead bodies of nine million Biafrans.

State Department Hypocrisy

To illustrate the hypocrisy, you ask a State Department official to discuss with you that "civil war" in which we are involved in Viet Nam. "That's no 'civil war'," he explains angrily. "That's a war of aggression—the north against the south." Ask him then to discuss that war of aggression by Nigeria against Biafra and he will reply, "Oh, that one? That *is* a civil war."

If "civil wars" are to be defined as conflicts in which brother is fighting against brother, Viet Nam comes much closer to satisfying that definition than does the struggle between Nigeria and Biafra. With traditional tribal differences, there are virtually no grounds for asserting that the Ibo is the brother of the Yoruba or the Hausa.

If the involvement of Soviet or Chinese communism on "the other side" in Korea, Viet Nam and Germany prompted us to support the political division of these countries, our State Department had better take a new and closer look at what Moscow is doing in Nigeria.

Realistically, our diplomats have taken what they believe to be a pragmatic stand on the crisis in western Africa. They feel that if Biafra is allowed to achieve its independence, this will lead to the fragmentation of every African nation.

We find it difficult to buy that view. Their argument is tantamount to saying that if you legalize divorce, every-

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Continued from page 9

body is going to run out to get one. Nonsense.

Many African countries—indeed, most of them—do not have the internal problems which confronted old Nigeria. More importantly, independence, as any Biafran will tell you, is not easily achieved. It is won only after great toil and sacrifice—and much suffering.

It seems reasonable to conclude that any people, anywhere on earth, who are willing to undertake such a venture *may* have a just cause. Our position should be to evaluate each revolution individually and to offer our blessing to those which we find are just (e.g., Hungary and Czechoslovakia).

A political fragmentation of some of the European-established boundaries in Africa need not be catastrophic, as long as there emerges from this an economic cooperation. Significantly, the Biafrans are speaking only of their *political* independence. Ojukwu frequently has said he is willing to talk to the Nigerians about an economic cooperation—perhaps even an economic confederation. Given the alternative of more war and more suffering and a possible death toll of nine million persons, that offer seems worthy of consideration under the circumstances.

It is *not* our purpose to plead the cause of Biafran independence. In view of the realities, however, it seems obvious now that there can be no military solution to the Nigerian-Biafran conflict. The Biafrans are prepared to fight to the last man, woman and child before they submit to Nigeria's demands for political reunification.

If there was ever any doubt as to whether Ojukwu has the support of the minority tribes in the territory claimed by Biafra (the Efiks, Ibibios, Kalabaris, Ijaws and others), this has been all but completely erased by the war itself. Refugees from all over Biafra have flowed into camps in the present enclave. They have learned to live together with a spirit of solidarity which develops rapidly when the Nigerian bombs rain down from the planes overhead.

In a sense, the war has actually created a united Biafran nation which otherwise may never have been born.

Facing the situation as it stands and not as we may like to see it, what then can the United States do?

We have attempted to direct ourselves to this question since our return from western Africa. The answer, we agree, must evolve around a policy of American involvement *without* intervention. This is important, because our nation does not need another Viet Nam. We must remember that we possess great power beyond our vast military potential, and it is this power—our diplomatic and economic resources—which should be invoked in this instance.

The most pressing need is for an immediate cease-fire—a prompt cooling off of this hot situation. Here, our influence should be directed at the British, the Soviets and the French, who are fanning the flames of war through their arms shipments. Militarily, of course, the United States should adopt a position of complete neutrality.

Beyond this, we could become an effective force for the initiation of meaningful talks between the warring sides by adopting a position of diplomatic neutrality. Tragically, U.S. contact with Biafra has been virtually non-existent throughout the course of this struggle. Rep. Lukens was the first American government official to ever step foot on "Biafran" soil. Fortunately, the path he blazed has been followed by other elected and appointed officials in recent weeks, but continuous contact should be maintained with both Nigeria and Biafra.

Regarding the humanitarian problems, we both have recommended that our nation join with others in sponsoring the construction of a new airfield inside Biafra which would be operated by neutral international authorities and would be used only for the shipment of food and medical supplies. The Biafrans could continue operating their existing airfield at Uli at their own risk for whatever purposes they wish. Present night operations there satisfy only 10 per cent of the need for specialized food and medicine, while a new airfield would permit daytime relief flights and would enable relief agencies to sharply curtail the anticipated death rate.

The United States should also take the lead in trying to negotiate the establishment of a demilitarized land route from Port Harcourt into the Biafran heartland and a river passage using channels of the Niger River.

Privately, American citizens can act in areas which are forbidden to their government. Civilian relief agencies in this country (Church World Service, and Catholic Relief Service) are actively involved in flying the desperately needed relief shipments into Biafra on a nightly basis. The U.S. government is understandably reluctant to assume this responsibility and the diplomatic risks it would involve.

These agencies, of course, are funded only by private and not governmental contribution, and these contributions must increase sharply in the weeks ahead if an effective relief effort is to be continued. The Irish have donated an average of 65¢ per capita to the Biafran relief campaign. A comparable amount from the American people would total more than $130 million. Needless to say, our contribution to date has fallen far short of this amount.

Involvement without intervention—that is how our nation as a whole should proceed.

To date, the United States has allowed Britain to write its foreign policy regarding Africa, but as we have learned elsewhere, British interests do not always parallel our own. We need to have the courage to make our presence in turbulent Africa known. While it is vital that we understand that we cannot police the world, we must not shy away from taking a stand in behalf of peace with freedom and justice.

If we can only learn the art of using our diplomatic and economic power to achieve these ends—if, in short, we can develop an effective technique of involvement without intervention—our involvement today may preclude the necessity of intervention tomorrow. This is the theory of the Nixon Administration in getting the United States "involved" in the Middle East situation to help resolve that dispute.

As Richard Nixon said during his campaign last September: "The terrible tragedy of the people of Biafra has now assumed catastrophic dimensions. . . . This is not the time to stand on ceremony or to 'go through channels' or to observe the diplomatic niceties. The destruction of an entire people is an immoral objective, even in the most moral of wars. It can never be justified; it can never be condoned."

That statement was an accurate expression of the conscience of all America and that conscience continues to be outraged each day that this terrible tragedy persists. Hopefully, that statement will be translated into a positive program of action by the Nixon Administration.

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Administration Ponders Heresy: Cutting Budget

By WILLARD EDWARDS

This may come as a pleasant shock to American taxpayers, although it will spread horror in the federal bureaucracy: The Nixon Administration is contemplating the heresy of cutting into the huge budget inherited from President Johnson.

Influential White House advisers have told President Nixon that there is nothing sacred about the Johnson budget and that it can be pared by at least $3 billion.

The savings thus achieved may even be translated into a reduction of the 10 per cent income tax surcharge. Contrary to most reports and, indeed, to testimony of Administration witnesses, the possibility of reducing the tax remains under serious consideration.

A dispute may develop at high levels over a return to economy in government. Some Cabinet members, intent upon expanding their domains, may protest slashes in the funds they control. Such a conflict, of course, could be settled only by the President, now giving full attention to domestic problems after devoting most of his first six weeks in office to conditions overseas.

As a candidate, Nixon virtually promised to get rid of the surtax. He has since expressed the conviction that it should be ended or reduced as soon as conditions permit. His budget director wants to keep the tax.

Johnson's farewell budget message in January proposed spending $195.3 billion in the fiscal year starting July 1. He anticipated receipts of $198.7 billion, asking Congress to extend the surcharge past its June 30 expiration date and to increase other taxes to maintain this level.

The departing President thus adhered to a tradition faithfully followed by all his predecessors in the last 30 years—government spending must expand each year. From 1948 to 1968, government spending leaped from $36 billion to more than $160 billion in terms of cash payments to the public.

Despite the gimmicks it included, experts say President Johnson's budget can be cut by at least $3 billion.

There were other causes to account for increased costs of government in this period. The population grew. There were wars, hot and cold, and the purchasing power of the dollar deteriorated.

But the major factor remained the mushrooming growth of new agencies in the "health, labor and welfare" category. Per capita cash payments to the public leaped from $249 to $813.

Nixon's domestic planners were tempted to throw up their hands in despair when they first glimpsed the hodgepodge of assistance programs—more than 1,000 of them, many of them duplicating each other's efforts, and all fighting to keep their authority.

Welfare had become a way of life for 25 million persons, many of whom found it more comfortable to accept the government's bounty than to go to work for a living.

One of the first decisions reached was to transfer the Job Corps, an expensive failure, to the Labor Department. It will be eventually phased out. Many other programs were obvious targets for reforms to promote economy and efficiency.

The main inspiration for reviving the long-discarded concept of economy in government was the conviction that reductions in government expenditure are the only demonstrable means for curbing inflation.

The nation is now suffering from a protracted inflationary movement which feeds on itself. The public expects inflation to continue. Consumers and businessmen spend because they expect products to cost more in the future. The tax increase last year, far from reducing spending on goods and services, merely reduced savings.

Government economy, the White House advisers decided, had become not only desirable but an unavoidable necessity if inflation was to be controlled.

There is full awareness that economy may not be popular with recipients of federal payments. Every member of Congress can cite letters from constituents voicing alarm about the perils of inflation and demanding reduced federal spending. As often as not, such a letter may conclude, "When are you going to increase our Social Security benefits?"

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

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LONGEST RAILROAD STRIKE—"The longest railroad strike in American history enters its seventh year. The Florida East Coast Railway was struck on Jan. 23, 1963, by non-union employes, with operating union employes later joining the strike. The dispute began over wages with other issues adding to the discord between management and rail unions. FEC trains continue to run and rail unions continue picketing."—From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

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Why Foreign Aid Impoverishes America

By HENRY HAZLITT

The Nixon Administration has disclosed its first foreign aid decision. It enthusiastically supports a U.S. contribution of $480 million over the next three years to the World Bank's "easy loan" subsidiary, the International Development Association.

The decision is a costly and disheartening error.

The IDA, with the aid of subsidies from leading nations—but of course principally from the United States—was set up in 1960 to make loans to poor countries at no interest and for 40-year terms.

Even if we make the naive assumption that all of these loans will be repaid, they are little more than camouflaged gifts.

Even the strongest American corporations today have to pay more than 6.5 per cent for long-term loans. The World Bank itself, which makes these loans, now has to pay about 6.75 per cent for the long-term funds it borrows from the market.

If the American taxpayers, on whom the Bank's losses will ultimately fall, were allowed to keep these funds, individuals could invest them, with the best obtainable prospects of safety for principal and interest, anywhere in the world they chose, for an annual interest return between 6 and 7 per cent.

Let us conservatively suppose that they could get only 6 per cent annual interest on 40-year loans. Any sum lent today at compounded annual interest of 6 per cent would yield 10 times its capital amount over 40 years. A $480-million loan would yield a total of $4.933 billion—$4.453 billion in compounded interest, plus $480 million in return of original principal.

If only the principal, without interest, is returned at the end of 40 years, nine-tenths of the loan will have been in effect a gift. The American taxpayers will have borne the loss.

But will not the world as a whole be better off?

That is highly improbable. If government foriegn aid and gift-loans did not exist, the American taxpayers would retain this capital. They would be free to invest it in the countries and projects that promised the highest yield, safety considered. Thus they would invest their capital where it promised to be most productive—in other words, where it promised to increase most the world's wealth and income.

But how about the poor country that gets such foreign aid or gift-loans? Will not it be very much better off because of them?

This again, as the record already shows, is in the long run more than doubtful. When the government of a backward country gets foreign aid or gifts disguised as loans, it almost invariably puts the money into meretricious Socialistic projects where it is mainly wasted.

If a foreign government or industry had no such easy source of outside funds, however, and had to attract private investment, then it would have to present projects that promised to pay their own way. At the very least the country would have to give assurances by its attitude, its laws and its record that foreign investments would not be confiscated.

Since 1945 the U.S. government has poured hundreds of millions of dollars of foreign aid into Peru. In return the present Peruvian government has seized a private American oil company. And President Nixon announces that he is afraid to take even the required legal action of halting further aid because of "a domino effect all over Latin America."

Could there be a clearer demonstration of the futility and absurdity of our whole foreign aid program?

(Copyright 1969, Los Angeles *Times*)

House Votes IDA Funds

Following is the 241-to-155 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives on March 12 refused to recommit the bill to provide for a $480 million contribution by the United States to the IDA. A "nay" vote supports the spending position which had Administration and GOP leadership backing. The final bill then passed later in the day on a 247-to-150 rollcall vote.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 56

Abbitt, Andrews (Ala.), Baring, Bennett, Brinkley, Burleson (Tex.), Burlison (Mo.), Cabell, Caffery, Casey, Chappell, Chisholm, Colmer, Daniel (Va.), Dorn, Dowdy, Downing, Fisher, Flowers, Fountain, Fuqua, Gaydos, Hagan, Haley, Henderson, Hull, Hungate, Ichord, Jarman, Jones (N. C.), Lennon, Long (La.), Long (Md.), Mann, Marsh, Mills, Montgomery, Natcher, Passman, Pucinski, Purcell, Randall, Rarick, Rivers, Roberts, Rogers (Fla.), Satterfield, Sikes, Steed, Stubblefield, Taylor, Teague (Tex.), Waggonner, Watts, White, Whitten

REPUBLICANS FOR: 99

Adair, Ashbrook, Belcher, Berry, Betts, Blackburn, Bray, Brown (Ohio), Broyhill (N. C.), Broyhill (Va.), Buchanan, Burke (Fla.), Bush, Camp, Carter, Chamberlain, Clancy, Clausen, Don, Clawson, Del, Cleveland, Collier, Collins, Coughlin, Denney, Dennis, Derwinski, Devine, Dickinson, Duncan, Edwards (Ala.), Eshleman, Foreman, Frey, Goodling, Gross, Grover, Hall, Hammerschmidt, Harsha, Hastings, Hogan, Hunt, Hutchinson, Jonas, King, Kleppe, Kuykendall, Kyl, Landgrebe, Langen, Latta, Lipscomb, Lujan, Lukens, McClure, McEwen, McKneally, Martin, Mathias, Meskill, Miller (Ohio), Minshall, Mizell, Myers, O'Konski, Pettis, Pollock, Price (Tex.), Quillen, Reid (Ill.), Rhodes, Roudebush, Ruth, Sandman, Saylor, Schadeberg, Scherle, Scott, Sebelius, Skubitz, Smith (Calif.), Snyder, Steiger (Ariz.), Thompson (Ga.), Thomson (Wis.), Wampler, Watkins, Watson, Whalley, Whitehurst, Wiggins, Williams, Winn, Wold, Wydler, Wylie, Wyman, Zion, Zwach

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 160

Adams, Addabbo, Albert, Alexander, Anderson (Calif.), Annunzio, Ashley, Aspinall, Barrett, Bevill, Biaggi, Bingham, Blatnik, Boggs, Boland, Bolling, Brademas, Brasco, Brooks, Brown (Calif.), Burke (Mass.), Burton (Calif.), Byrne (Pa.), Carey, Celler, Clark, Cohelan, Corman, Culver, Daddario, Daniels (N. J.), Davis (Ga.), Dawson, de la Garza, Dent, Diggs, Dingell, Donohue, Dulski, Eckhardt, Edmondson, Edwards (Calif.), Eilberg, Evans (Colo.), Fallon, Farbstein, Fascell, Feighan, Flood, Ford, Wm. Fraser, Friedel, Fulton (Tenn.), Galifianakis, Gallagher, Garmatz, Gettys, Giaimo, Gibbons, Gilbert, Gonzalez, Green (Ore.), Green (Pa.), Griffin, Griffiths, Hamilton, Hanley, Hanna, Hansen (Wash.), Hathaway, Hays, Hechler (W. Va.), Helstoski, Hicks, Holifield, Jacobs, Joelson, Johnson (Calif.), Jones (Ala.), Karth, Kazen, Kee, Kluczynski, Koch, Kyros, Landrum, Leggett, McCarthy, McFall, Macdonald (Mass.), Madden, Mahon, Matsunaga, Meeds, Mikva, Miller (Calif.), Minish, Mink, Mollohan, Monagan, Moorhead, Morgan, Moss, Murphy (Ill.), Murphy (N. Y.), Nedzi, Nix, O'Hara, Olsen, O'Neill (Mass.), Ottinger, Patman, Patten, Pepper, Perkins, Philbin, Pickle, Pike, Poage, Powell, Preyer (N. C.), Price (Ill.), Pryor (Ark.), Rees, Reuss, Rodino, Rogers (Colo.), Rooney (N. Y.), Rooney (Pa.), Rosenthal, Rostenkowski, Roybal, Ryan, St Germain, St. Onge, Shipley, Sisk, Slack, Smith (Iowa), Staggers, Stephens, Stratton, Sullivan, Symington, Thompson (N. J.), Tiernan, Tunney, Udall, Ullman, Van Deerlin, Vanik, Vigorito, Waldie, Wilson, Charles, Wolff, Wright, Yates, Yatron, Young, Zablocki

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 81

Anderson (Ill.), Andrews (N. D.), Arends, Ayres, Bates, Beall (Md.), Biester, Bow, Brock, Broomfield, Brotzman, Brown (Mich.), Burton (Utah), Button, Byrnes (Wis.), Cahill, Cederberg, Conte, Corbett, Cowger, Cramer, Davis (Wis.), Dellenback, Dwyer, Erlenborn, Findley, Fish, Ford, Gerald, Frelinghuysen, Fulton (Pa.), Gude, Halpern, Hansen (Idaho), Harvey, Heckler (Mass.), Horton, Hosmer, Johnson (Pa.), Keith, Lloyd, McClory, McCloskey, McCulloch, McDade, MacGregor, Mailliard, May, Mayne, Michel, Mize, Morse, Morton, Mosher, Nelsen, Pirnie, Poff, Quie, Railsback, Reid (N. Y.), Reifel, Riegle, Robison, Roth, Rumsfeld, Ruppe, Schneebeli, Schwengel, Shriver, Smith (N. Y.), Springer, Stafford, Stanton, Taft, Talcott, Teague (Calif.), Vander Jagt, Weicker, Whalen, Widnall, Wilson, Bob, Wyatt

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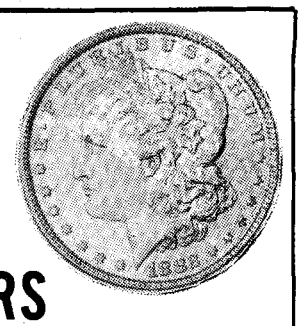

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How Nixon's State Campaign Manager Views Dispute:

Daley and Humphrey Must Share Blame for Loss of Illinois

By WILLIAM RENTSCHLER

A simmering, bitter controversy inside the national Democratic camp has broken noisily into the open in the aftermath of Richard Nixon's November triumph. The episode centers on Illinois, pivotal state in the tight, tense presidential race.

In a rare display of unprofessional pique, Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley, focal point of the Democratic convention disaster and maybe even the goat in the defeat of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, has lashed out at his party's presidential nominee.

"If he [Humphrey] had campaigned more in Illinois, he would have been President," Daley recently stormed in red-faced anger. Top Democratic leaders, he said, "knew" Humphrey could not be elected President, and "they told me so during convention week." To climax his vendetta against the man he supported at the convention, Daley said Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D.-Mass.) would have made a stronger candidate anyway.

The mayor's outburst apparently was touched off by a Humphrey remark that Daley "didn't exactly break his heart for me in the presidential campaign."

Some of the facts remain murky. It may well be, however, that Daley, sensitive and outraged, has been moved to rewrite a little history to fit his own rose-colored conception of his celebrated political genius.

Herewith a few observations from my vantage-point as President Nixon's campaign chairman for Illinois:

There is no doubt that Humphrey's chances in Illinois were seriously damaged by his failure to visit this obviously critical state only twice between convention and election. He was urged to campaign downstate by various Illinois Democrats. Yet he largely skirted Illinois. In my view, Daley cannot escape the onus. I find it extremely difficult to believe that Humphrey would have stayed out of Illinois, usually a swing state, if Daley had insisted he come in. Humphrey's obligation to Daley—a key figure in his nomination—was substantial, and he hardly could have ignored an emphatic summons from the top political boss in America.

Humphrey doubtless was not anxious to return often to Illinois, especially Chicago, where he might risk even a small-scale replay of the massive August demonstrations which consigned him to a deep hole at the very start of his race against Nixon. Yet Humphrey must have been hesitant to explain to Daley his reluctance on those grounds, knowing that any such explanation would be offensive to the touchy Daley, already under heavy fire for his actual and presumed part in the convention chaos.

My own best guess is that Humphrey and Daley more or less agreed that Humphrey should largely ignore Illinois and leave the winning to Daley, an old hand at delivering the goods.

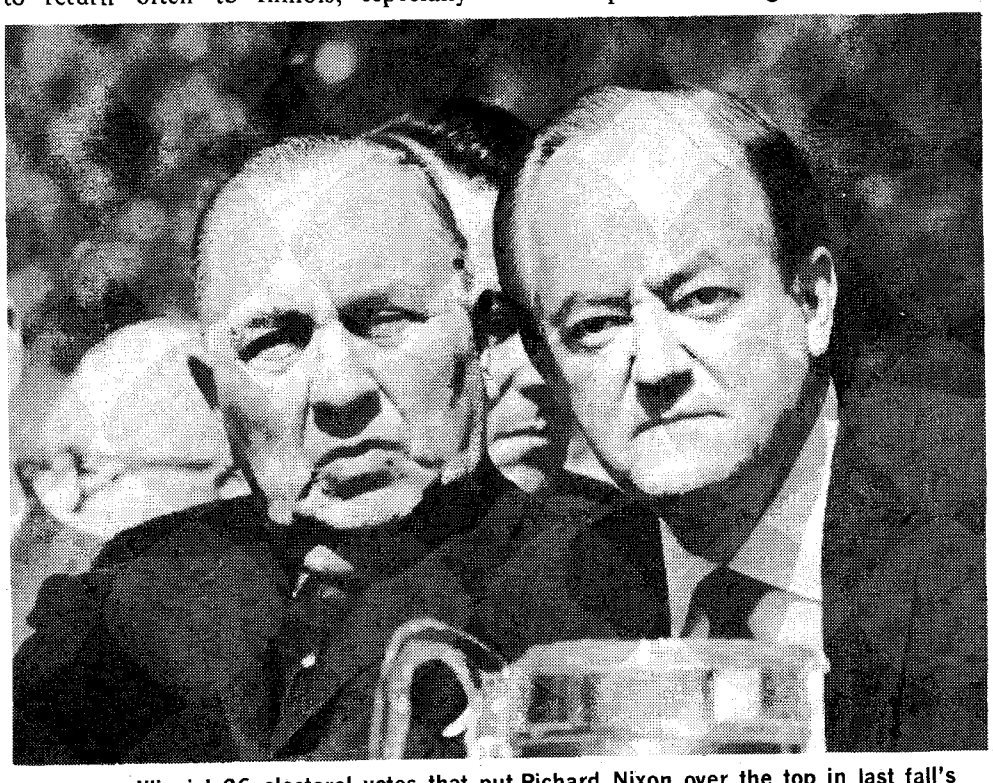
That was a bad decision. For the Nixon forces, from the candidate on down, out-thought, outshot, and outfought their foe.

The fact is that the Democratic campaign, from the beginning, was run pretty much as if Daley, Humphrey, and their key political and citizen aides regarded Illinois as a lost cause. We, of course, sought constantly to reinforce that pessimistic view, with bold and confident claims of a Nixon landslide. Until the late stages of the campaign when the Nixon margin was well-nigh insurmountable, we never were conscious of an all-out Humphrey effort, and then it came chiefly from the major AFL-CIO unions.

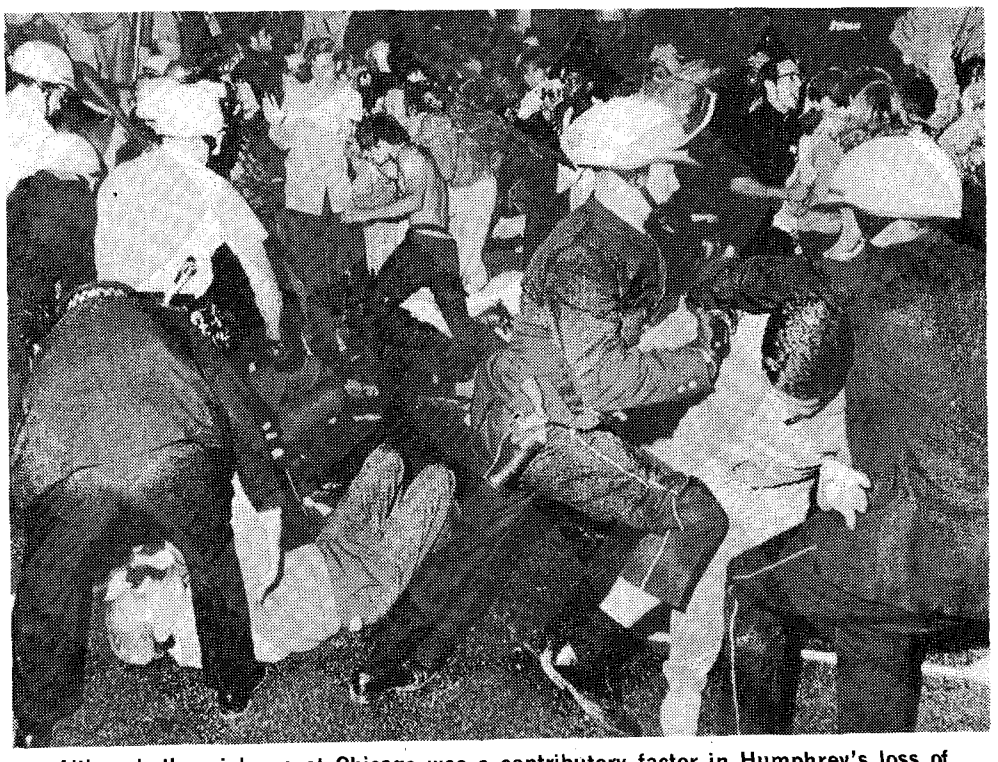
At San Diego, a few days after Richard Nixon's nomination at Miami Beach, his Illinois team laid out with his top national campaign planners a strategy of heavy emphasis on Illinois. This included frequent appearances by Nixon (six statewide in two months, highlighted by a highly successful ticker-tape motorcade in Chicago's Loop), heavy TV advertising and special events, and a strong county-by-county citizen effort.

Our aim from the start was to seize the initiative for our man and keep it. Humphrey's seemingly casual, low-key effort in Illinois made the Nixon campaign seem all the more intensive, and we sought to highlight the contrast by claiming repeatedly—and we felt accurately—that Humphrey was ignoring Illinois, writing off the state, and resting his scant hopes on Daley's traditional election-day firepower.

We operated during most of the campaign looking back over our shoulder and fully expecting Humphrey to be gaining on us. Yet the expected counter-effort failed to materialize as the days sped by, and we began making bold claims which were fully justified by every poll, private and otherwise, to which we had access.



It was Illinois' 26 electoral votes that put Richard Nixon over the top in last fall's election. Mayor Richard Daley (left), one of the last big-city Democratic bosses, was unable to deliver the usually crucial Cook County vote this time.



Although the violence at Chicago was a contributory factor in Humphrey's loss of the Prairie State, the main reason for Nixon's win was a strong conservative trend nationwide.

As a result, most astute political observers, including, I am convinced, Mayor Daley himself, conceded quite early that Illinois, barring a miracle of sorts, was in the bag for Nixon. There is no other plausible explanation for the relatively weak Humphrey campaign in Illinois. In retrospect, it may be that we simply outfoxed the consummate pros.

Despite Daley's contrary assertion, a couple of more late visits by Humphrey to Illinois, in my view, would not have swung the state to him; even though his appearances might have aided local and lesser candidates. Illinois voters—through blanket media coverage, were made fully aware of the upsurge in Humphrey's momentum late in the campaign, and they responded to it. Ten days before the end, both our own poll and the Chicago *Sun-Times* poll gave Nixon a 400,000-vote bulge. Additional Humphrey forays into Illinois doubtless would have chipped away some votes and thus reduced further Nixon's final margin of almost 135,000 votes, but that total itself clearly reflected Humphrey's powerful advance in the final stages.

As for his belated "support" of Teddy Kennedy more than six months after the convention, I think Mayor Daley's remarks reflect both poor taste and bad grace.

On balance, Humphrey surely was far better qualified to be President—if considerably less glamorous—than either the untried Kennedy or the dreamy, erratic Eugene McCarthy.

If indeed Daley felt then as he now says, it was he who failed his party, for it was he alone who had the power to launch a serious Kennedy boom at the convention and it was his delayed decision to go for Humphrey that killed any chance for a successful insurrection.

My own inclination is to accept the view expressed by able Chicago *Daily News* political editor Charles Nicodemus, who says Daley at the convention refused "to give any private assurance to Kennedy aides that Illinois would back Kennedy if he jumped into the race. . . ."

Perhaps, says Nicodemus, there is method in the mayor's apparent switch: "By hopping, if belatedly, onto the Kennedy bandwagon—and seeking to make it seem like he'd been there all the time—the nation's most powerful Democrat attaches himself to the man who now appears to be the nation's most popular Democrat."

Richard Nixon's national campaign was essentially flawless, but the good mayor, who snatched victory away in 1960, this time helped him into the White House.

Daley, ironically, must bear a measure of blame—who can say precisely how great?—for creating the circumstances both inside and outside Chicago's International Amphitheatre which surely contributed to the defeat of the Democratic ticket in Illinois and nationally. Clearly Daley was the central symbol of that national debacle.

The loss of Illinois' 26 decisive electoral votes punctured forever Daley's aura of invincibility. The aging boss, last of a breed, is far from finished, but his failure to deliver the top of the ticket—plus recent reverses in local races—makes him more susceptible to challenge today than at any time in his near 14-year reign. This clearly has emboldened his increasingly outspoken foes within his own party.

In looking back, President Nixon can be thankful he had Mayor Daley—a perennially rugged adversary—on his side in 1968.

□□□

CONVENTION REFORMS—Incoming Republican National Chairman Rogers Morton has accepted the invitation of his Democratic counterpart, Sen. Fred Harris (D.-Okla.), for the two parties to set up a bipartisan advisory board to suggest ways of reforming the presidential nomination-convention system. The panel will consist of academic "experts" on the political process. Among reforms being considered by both parties are abolition of the unit rule vote, selecting state delegates only in the presidential year and the broader involvement of voters in the selection of convention delegates.

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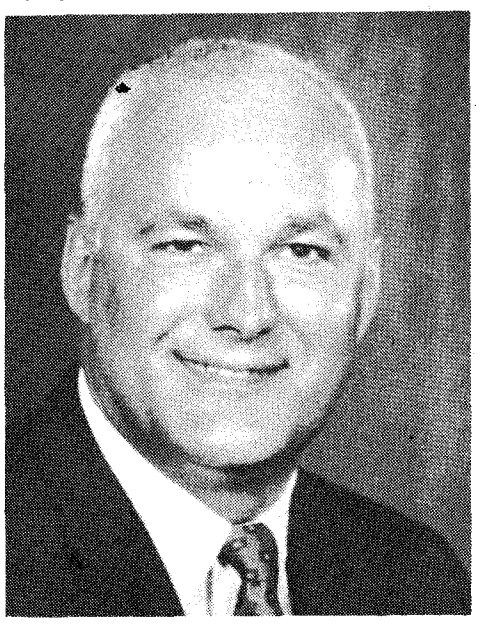
Silence of Negro Leaders on Crimes Against Own People Triggers Warning

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

The widespread failure of Negro leaders to denounce the soaring crime, violence, campus and other disorders by their race could have serious adverse effect on Congress' attitude toward the multi-billion-dollar anti-poverty and federal aid to education programs.

That is the blunt warning of Rep. William Scherle (R.-Iowa), influential member of the House Education and



Rep. William Scherle (R.-Iowa) attacks Negro leaders who "lack the guts and forthrightness to denounce the criminals who are victimizing their own race."

Labor Committee, which has jurisdiction over this far-reaching legislation.

Making no bones of his stern indignation at the almost universal silence of Negro leaders in the national struggle against criminal and extremist elements among their people, Scherle declared they will have only themselves to blame for possible unfavorable consequences.

He pointed out that this perplexing failure to speak out is particularly shocking and discreditable, as Negroes are the worst victims of Negro crime.

"There is ample evidence, as reported by a recent leading poll," said Scherle, "that both Negroes and whites, by a considerable margin, strongly favor a tougher line against crime. The attitude of most Negroes is graphically summed up by a statement by one black American to a pollster, 'It is not police brutality that I worry about so much as criminal brutality.'

"Yet despite the irrefutable evidence of the urgent need and overwhelming desire of their people for law and order, where are the Negro leaders? Why aren't they in the forefront of the fight to suppress the vicious and the irresponsible? Privately, they shake their heads and speak sorrowfully about the grievous crime problem. But publicly they lack the guts and forthrightness to denounce the criminals who are victimizing their own race."

Caustically underscoring his biting denunciation of the ignobly mute Negro leaders, Rep. Scherle cited a number of striking instances of the brutal victimization of Negroes by Negro criminals and extremists.

A particularly graphic illustration noted by Scherle is the Nation's Capital.

With a Negro population of 66 per cent, it ranked first in robberies last year and third in all major crimes. An official study for the fiscal year that ended June 30, 1968, reported that 85 per cent of murder victims, 79 per cent of rape victims and 84 per cent of aggravated assault victims "were non-white."

"Even the relatively new concept of black capitalism," said the outspoken Iowa lawmaker, "has fallen victim to the rising Negro crime rate. A shopping center taken over by Harry Young, a Negro schoolteacher, was the first project of that kind owned and managed by a Negro in the state of Delaware. Yet it had to be closed because of vandalism by Negro hoodlums, most of them under 18.

"These punks terrorized Young's customers, robbed parked cars, smashed the store's windows and stole his goods. When he was sorrowfully compelled to quit business, he had lost $33,000 in hard-earned savings. But I have yet to hear of a Negro leader who came to his support who spoke out in denunciation of these Negro marauders and delinquents."

Howard University, foremost Negro educational institution in the country, was singled out by Scherle as another glaring example of the failure of Negro leaders to take a forthright stand against extremists of their race.

The federal government provides some 56 per cent of the university's budget. Since 1954, it has been given around $140 million.

"Yet, despite this huge assistance from the taxpayers of the country," declared Scherle, "the students at Howard are involved in mindless and irresponsible disorders and disruptions. Last week they forced the closing of the law school, and this week they seized the president's office and shut down the liberal arts school. Not long ago, Gen. Lewis Hershey, director of Selective Service, who had been invited by the university to speak, was so outrageously heckled and harassed that he was unable to finish his talk.

"Yet throughout all this contemptible and disgraceful conduct, no responsible Negro leader said a word in protest. What would be wrong for black Americans speaking out and telling these rampaging young people that progress is made by obtaining an education and not disrupting their own as well as that of students who want to be educated?

"But there wasn't one Negro leader who had the decency and fortitude to speak out. I say that's shocking and outrageous. It's a grave disservice to their people and their rights."

★ ★ ★

Recruiting efforts of the Central Intelligence Agency have suffered not at all from the picketing and student protests which have greeted CIA representatives on college and university campuses across the nation.

On the contrary, CIA personnel experts believe campus demonstrations may have given a stimulus to the spy agency's recruiting program in some academic communities. Certain vacancies are being filled with applicants who are better qualified than their predecessors of a few years back.

This is the gist of information which is being supplied by CIA to the congressional committees which ride herd on the agency's operations. The data runs counter to published reports which suggest that CIA has been getting a cold shoulder on the campus.

The CIA summaries suggest, in fact, that whatever its cathartic effect on the pent-up emotions of campus militants, the much-publicized wave of anti-CIA protest has been little more than an inconvenience and annoyance for the agency. Most importantly, CIA is telling its congressional watchdogs that it can discern no lessening of interest in intelligence careers on college and university campuses.

Its reports indicate, however, that CIA has tailored its recruiting program to avoid confrontations which might embarrass college administrators. If on-campus interviews can be conducted without incident, CIA representatives conduct them. When trouble begins to develop, CIA recruiters withdraw and do their interviewing elsewhere.

Some interviews have been shifted to regional offices which are close to some of the nation's big academic centers. The agency's main recruiting office in nearby Arlington, Va., interviews job applicants during business hours without appointment.

As a result, CIA is reporting that it has been able to move up a notch in filling vacancies which require certain academic qualifications. Some jobs which were filled with holders of B.A. degrees a couple of years ago are now getting holders of graduate degeees, the agency says.

In that connection, the agency notes that its recruiting problems are made easier by the fact that the attrition rate is very low on the agency's college-like "campus" in nearby McLean, Va.

Far from the fictional cloak-and-dagger image, much of CIA's activity is scholarly research and analysis. It makes no secret of its need for job applicants qualified in a wide variety of academic disciplines.

An attractive, two-color brochure, "Intelligence Professions" is sent to college and university placement officers. It lists 25 fields of academic endeavor in which CIA has a special interest, and it stresses that the list is not all-inclusive.

While the CIA has never officially disclosed the exact size of its payroll, educational journals tell the college and universities all about its educational pedigree. It is now reported, for example, that more than half of all CIA employes have a bachelor's degree, 16 per cent have a master's degree, and five per cent a Ph.D.

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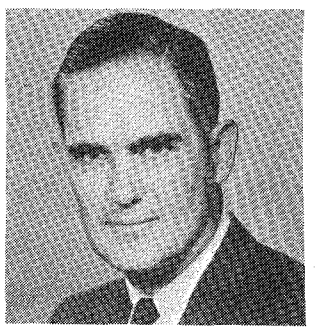

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Columnist Admits Surprise

Phonics Works Out Very Well in Los Angeles

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY

A few months back I alerted my readers to the reading problem in Los Angeles schools. It seems the California statewide tests put the City of the Angels low man on a 20-city totem pole. At the time I commented wryly on the report that the Los Angeles authorities were reacting to the tests' black tidings by packaging so-called "phonics kits" for distribution to every reading teacher in the vast system.

My eyebrows were elevated not by any reservations as to the effectiveness of phonics. I simply felt (1) that you can't dole out phonics to the children like so much bubble gum; and (2) that a panicky, hastily packaged reaction to a crisis rarely works.

It turns out I was wrong, and I'm delighted to admit it.

The 1968 Los Angeles test results are now in, and for the first time in umpteen years the reading scores are up. Out in the sprawling San Fernando Valley reading achievement went up a whopping 16 percentage points in one year. In West Los Angeles, it was up 14 per cent for first-graders alone. On the city's north side, reading ability rose 9 per cent for first-graders and 19 per cent for second-graders. Among racial minority children, the percentage of rise was from 1 to 4 per cent.

So in the greatest city of the West, the slump in reading at last has been reversed. How was it done? Here is a rough chronology:

• Years ago Los Angeles opted for a reading program which started in Grade 1 with the so-called "word recognition" approach and which brought in phonics later on, instead of the other way around.

• Under this system, the tests showed a steady decline in reading ability which eventually scared even the Los Angeles reading experts.

• Finally phonics "kits" were passed out by the thousands to elementary teachers, and an intensive program of concentrated reading was initiated.

• After a year of this, the reading scores went up.

There are several lessons to be learned from the Los Angeles experience. One is that phonics actually does what its advocates have claimed: it teaches children to read. Another is that even the enemies of phonics will reluctantly use it to pull their chestnuts out of the fire if the fire finally gets hot enough. Personally, I hope that still a third lesson will be the logic of a permanent phonics-based reading program instead of a sporadic fire-alarm approach to the problem of poor reading.

Yes, the lessons are there for my colleagues to read, emblazoned by the Los Angeles experience like handwriting upon a highly visible wall. The question of whether or not any attention will be paid to them is another matter altogether.

What may prevent it?

The same thing which has always roadblocked it, at least for the past 30 years: the unwillingness of the so-called experts and curriculum consultants to admit they've been wrong all their lives.

Phonics is simply the memorization of the letters of the alphabet, the mastery of their several sounds, and the combining of them into syllables, those indispensable building blocks of the language. Each grade-school teacher will swear on an Everest-size stack of Bibles that she uses phonics in her reading classes, and she will be right. The trouble is that she uses it at the wrong time. She should start with it on the first day of the first grade. Instead, she usually follows the admonitions of her teachers-college professors and drags phonics in by the scruff of the neck months after the "look-say" damage has been done.

What's to do about it? Change the way teachers are taught to teach. But that, gentle reader, is another column.

Meanwhile, two facts are incontrovertible:

1. Before the crash phonics program, Los Angeles reading scores were low and getting lower every year.

2. Since the passing out of the phonics "kits," the scores have gone up, in some cases dramatically.

Now I suppose I'll hear from every "look-say" exponent in southern California, proving triumphantly that phonics really had nothing to do with the improvement.

Ho-hum. 'Twas ever thus.

(Copyright 1969, Los Angeles *Times*)

Dick Kleindienst's Now-Famous Time Sheets

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Several of us were sitting around the Phoenix airport lunchroom. Dick Kleindienst jokingly put on his friend's visored Air Force cap, made a scowl and said something in German like "*Achtung*!" We all guffawed because in that instant Kleindienst's round-headed, Teutonic countenance had been made to mimic something like a funny-page version of the Prussian militarist.

When Adam Yarmolinsky, a minor figure of the New Frontier, was around we used to say that he had a name perfectly suited to attract sinister charges of conspiracy. But it was regarded as monstrously unsporting to take advantage of that handicap. I doubt if Kleindienst is sensitive about it, but his physiogomy and his occasionally abrupt mannerisms have drawn insinuations that he could pass the screen tests of a hard and handsome bully boy.

Richard Kleindienst, the deputy to Atty. Gen. Mitchell, is positioned to lead the war against crime, if there is one. His nomination to the post made the liberals very nervous.

Kleindienst is sometimes called "Mr. Tough," and this is disturbing to those who believe that law enforcement ought to be of the opposite texture. However, Kleindienst had excellent credentials. He's been a summa cum laude graduate and a Phi Betta Kappa keyholder from Harvard and Harvard Law School, and a senior partner in a top-flight law firm. He made a courteous, responsive witness before the Senate Judiciary Committee and was quickly confirmed by the Senate.

But there was never much doubt that, along with Walter Hickel and David Packard, Kleindienst would become a prime target of Mr. Nixon's liberal opposition. Recently he asked Justice Department lawyers to fill out a form-sheet that accounted for their work-hours in fifths of an hour (12 minutes).

Deputy Atty. Gen. Richard Kleindienst is only following a standard practice in private law activities by using the time sheet forms.

An anonymous person in the Justice Department leaked out stories which branded Kleindienst with the swastika of a bureaucratic storm-trooper. It was as if Yarmolinsky, who once worked at the Defense Department, had passed along some order to the Whiz Kids of that day, and suddenly found his public image stamped with the hammer-and-sickle insignia.

The form-sheet itself is used every day in law offices, so that attorneys know how to charge their clients for their time. Many modern factories use similar methods for programming the work-day. Two years ago, when President Johnson ordered all agencies to practice cost-cutting, the Interior Department experimented with the same sort of forms. A recent study of work-habits in a typical government agency showed that a number of employes would have a hard time accounting for their hours of loafing, snoozing and malingering at public expense.

Kleindienst was doing exactly what all incoming Presidents urge their subordinates to get busy at. He was specifically doing what Mr. Nixon had many times promised in the campaign. This was the Administration's first move to instill efficiency and discipline into the invisible boondoggle of government office-hour jobs.

Sen. Goldwater commented that Kleindienst had raised one of the early labor-management issues of the season. He has also raised a question in which the Nixon team has not been fully tested during this honeymoon period: Can they take it?

The ability to absorb punishment is a needed attribute in high-level posts, the more so when the White House is politically outnumbered and outgunned by its opposition. The ability of a Yarmolinsky or a Kleindienst to rise above snide attacks relating to name and physiogomy is also valuable. In this incident the deputy attorney general has his chance to show that when the going gets rough, Mr. Tough can keep on going.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

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INTERESTING SURVEY—"The American Council on Education's Office of Research has completed a survey of 1.5 million incoming freshmen at colleges and universities this semester. It found that more than half the students were convinced that 'most college officials have been too lax in dealing with student protests on campus.' The study revealed that 55 per cent of the students would like to see college officials take stronger action to curb protests and demonstrations. The survey tends to confirm the view that unrest at the colleges is caused by a small minority of students. The majority apparently just want to get on with their studies."—From the Indianapolis *Star*

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Oil Import Problems

By SEN. JOHN G. TOWER (R.-Tex.)

Two world wars, the Korean conflict, the Suez crisis of 1956, the Arab-Israel war of 1967, and our current involvement in the Far East have proven beyond question the vital importance of petroleum self-sufficiency to our national security and to our independent survival in a world dependent on energy for existence.

We must recognize there are those persons in American industry who wish only financial advantage over their competitors, and they are willing to use the Foreign Trade Zones Act of 1934, as amended, to gain such advantage. Such misuse of the Act by any petroleum or petrochemical company might yield a short-term financial advantage for the company over its competitors, but would surely result in permanent and severe damage to our petroleum self-sufficiency and impair our national security.

The regulations that govern the orderly and limited flow of foreign oil into the United States effectively channel the monetary benefit of the oil import license to the domestic producer through a broad distribution of oil import licenses to hundreds of refiners and petrochemical manufacturers located throughout the United States.

The creation of a few and then many refining and petrochemical foreign trade zones, with the immense pressure which they would exert upon the import program, would have the effect of removing the benefit of the oil import program from the domestic petroleum industry. The consequence would be to drastically accelerate the further deterioration of our domestic petroleum self-sufficiency and to jeopardize our national security.

I introduced a measure during the last session of the 90th Congress calling for a study of the oil import program. This study would reveal the exact administering of this program and give us the opportunity to make changes, if any, where necessary. President Nixon has seen fit to order a complete review of the oil import program. I am confident this review will proceed in an orderly fashion, and, after its completion, will produce guidelines for strengthening our domestic oil industry.

I wish to reiterate that under no condition should any foreign trade zones be considered without viewing them in their entirety as to the effect they would have on our vital national oil industry.

Advice to the Court

By REP. H.R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

On the subject of law and order and the courts, Chief Justice Warren went out of his way recently to assail Congress and lay on its doorstep the failure to clear the court's dockets and reestablish law and order in the country. He was particularly irked because his personal request for a messenger for the law library was rejected, and because another request for an additional law clerk for each justice was refused. Said Warren: "In the last three years, because the number of cases has increased so uch, we wanted to add one law clerk for each justice. You would think from the congressional reaction that we were just dipping our hands in the Treasury." Well, what reason would Congress have to think otherwise? If the justices of the Supreme Court would stop taking vacations of five months each year, do less mountain climbing, and stop traipsing around over the world at government expense as some of them do, including Warren, they could get their work done with the present personnel. Moreover, in the light of some of Warren's decisions, it takes more than an ordinary amount of gall for him to attempt to blame Congress for the breakdown of law and order.

Self-Help Project

By REP. ALBERT WATSON (R.-S.C.)

While the revolutionary antics of such radical groups as the Students for a Democratic Society will continue to appeal to hard-core militants, I sincerely believe that today's college youth are more serious-minded and better prepared to meet the challenges of the future than any comparable generation of students in our history.

Dramatic proof of this positive attitude on the part of most students is found on the campus of Allen University, a predominantly Negro institution located in Columbia, S.C.

Like many small schools with a limited budget, Allen is struggling financially. Although it may seem like a nominal sum, Allen needs to come up with $350,000 that has been incurred as a debt.

The students at Allen, numbering about 750, decided upon a rather ambitious project for young people, most of whom come from poorer families. They met and announced confidently that they would raise the money somehow and pay off the debt.

Now I realize that college students can devise some ingenious schemes to keep themselves entertained, such as holding contests to determine the champion in the matter of which male can hold the most coeds on his lap. But raising $350,000 is another matter entirely, and such an endeavor would tax the mind of even the most enterprising of students.

However, the Allen University student body is not to be denied. Back in January they boldly predicted that the job could be done, and they are doing it. With the assistance of wonderful local support and favorable publicity from such noted radio and television personalities as Joseph McCaffrey of WMAL in Washington, the students are getting the money, slowly but surely. They hold dances, concerts, exhibits, and solicit contributions. Together with the great appeal of Dr. J. W. Hairston, president of Allen, and an outstanding educator, these fund-raising events are meeting with success.

The story of Allen University speaks for itself. It is symbolic of the typical American student who takes pride in his school and the opportunity that school affords him for excellence in tomorrow's world. Allen students are trying to build, not destroy. They may lack financial resources, but they are not lacking the spirit and sense of comradeship which make the university system such a great American institution. These students are to be commended and they deserve the support of everyone genuinely interested in the future of our colleges and universities.

World Bank Loans

By REP. HOWARD POLLOCK (R.-Alaska)

I find no quarrel with the purposes of the International Development Association, as a soft-loan affiliate of the World Bank for the poorer, undeveloped nations of the world. I only wish Alaska could make such development loans on 50-year terms at no interest other than a nominal three-quarters per cent per year service charge to meet administrative costs with no repayment required for the first 10 years, then 1 per cent per year for the next 10 years, and then 3 per cent per year for the final 30 years. But I feel this is a worthwhile international investment for those nations which would otherwise find it impossible to find money for development. It is a small investment in relation to our necessary war investment in Viet Nam and elsewhere. My quarrel is with the proposal to increase our participation in IDA. Indeed, how can we explain to the American people the need to continue the 10 per cent surcharge, after reducing expenditures and obligational authority, when hospitals, educational needs, highways, airfields, water, sewer, and other forms of federal aid here at home are being postponed or canceled? And, of course, we are stockpiling future U.S. balance-of-payments deficits. While I will support the IDA at its present level, I cannot support an increased foreign aid appropriation at this time. [*Nevertheless, the House did vote the IDA increase. See rollcall on page 11. —Ed.*]

TVA 'Conglomerate'

By REP. J. HERBERT BURKE (R.-Fla.)

During its years of existence, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) has done a great deal of good for many people and achieved considerable success. But let us face the facts as they are today: TVA is mushrooming into a giant bureaucracy, far greater than its original intent. Its activities now include land development, fertilizer research and production, timber sales, and recreation development, not only in our country but in many areas outside the continental limits of the United States.

TVA has taken on the trappings of a multi-headed conglomerate in the Tennessee Valley area and is spreading its activities to many other places. For instance, the TVA owns 4,800 acres of land in the state of Florida—land which, from all appearance, has not been put to any good use and is located miles from any TVA installation.

It is further interesting to note that while the agency is supposed to be self-sustaining under its corporate status, American taxpayers are still called upon to pump millions of dollars annually into the TVA coffers for many of these non-power activities.

A look at the various administrative costs and the ever-increasing number of employes that have been added to the TVA payroll over the years makes one aware of just how far afield TVA has gone, and makes one further wonder how far it intends to wander.

There is no question that the TVA has done a good job in harnessing the rivers of the Tennessee Valley to produce power for this region, but even good can be followed by bad; and the good of this agency cannot hide the dangers of its now expanding tentacles stretching far afield from its original purpose.

Society's Rights

By SEN. JOHN McCLELLAN (D.-Ark.)

It is my hope that our courts, and particularly the Supreme Court of the United States, will begin to think more in terms of the right of a society to be free and to be protected from the assassin, the robber, the murderer, and the rapist than the court has accorded to society in the past by some of its recent decisions. If all rights are possessed by the criminal and society has none and, if every time a case comes before the Supreme Court there is a searching effort made to find some technicality with which to turn an accused loose, I am then persuaded that whatever Congress may do and whatever the law-enforcement agencies or the executive branch of the government may do, our efforts will be thwarted and the rate of crime in our country will continue to soar, just as it has during the past calendar year, when it was 17 per cent higher than it was the year before.

M. L. King Memorial

By SEN. JAMES ALLEN (D.-Ala.)

The sometime preacher, Ralph David Abernathy, has stated that he expected to lead a bunch of mules and wagons on a march to Montgomery, Ala., and that as a result of the attendant publicity he hopes to create boycotts, school walk-outs, work stoppage, peace demonstrations, student protests, rent strikes, hunger marches, and other disruptive demonstrations as a means of commemorating the memory of Martin Luther King. . . .

A so-called peaceful demonstration of this nature appeals to the human flotsam in our society. It attracts hoards of sullen, unclean, uncouth, unwashed, and wild-eyed radicals together with their motley crew of professional camp followers. It attracts "reverend" hypocrites—pseudo-preachers, if you please—who are all too ready to walk through the filth, crime, corruption, poverty, decadence, and stench in their own back yards to travel to Selma and Montgomery to lecture our people on morals and to demonstrate the art of making a fast buck by prostituting their professions.

It has been amply demonstrated that these people are led, directed, and supervised by a core of disciplined Communists, anarchists and syndicalists, who aim only to create violence and disrupt the duly constituted government. The agitation, confrontations, lawlessness, and disruptive tactics employed are deliberately designed to create divisiveness, ill-will and strained relationships.

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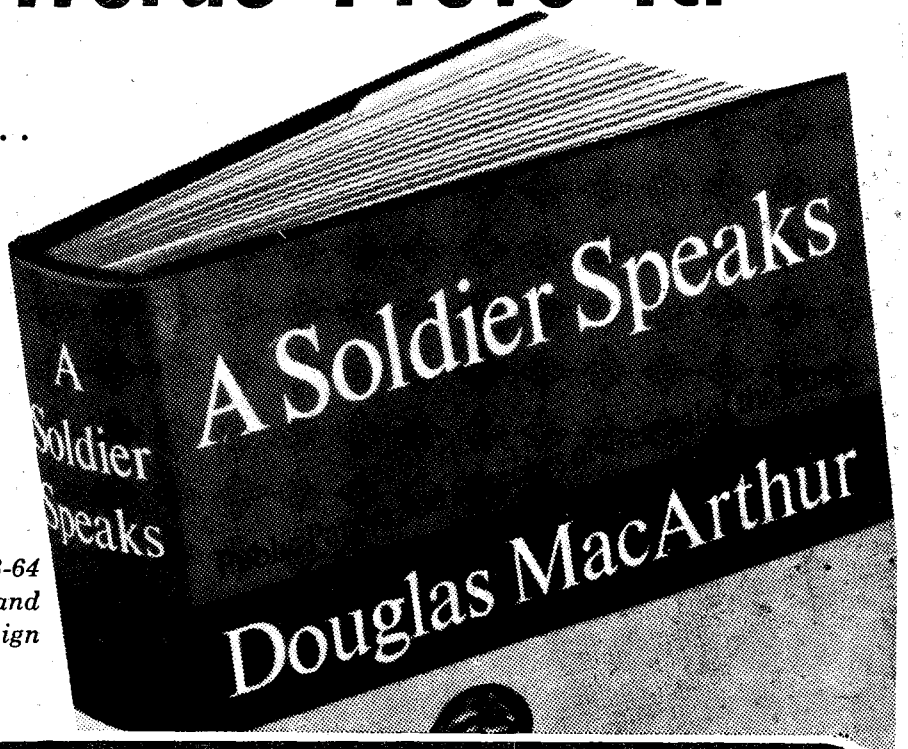

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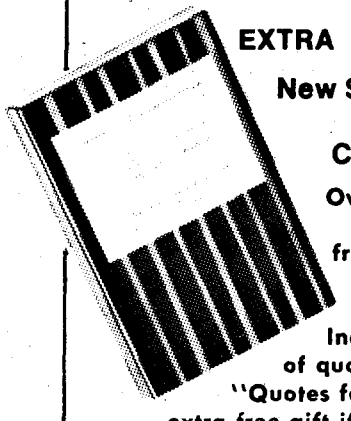

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